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Soy Moderno y No Quiero Locas: Modernity and LGBT(Queer) Perú

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Abstract

This paper explores the LGBT rights movement in Peru from 1980 to the contemporary period. It uses a historically-based, ethnographic methodology to explore the relationship between globalization and LGBT rights. Particular focus is paid to the *Movimiento Homosexual de Lima* and the recent *Union Civil Ya!* movement. It builds off existing critical scholarship examining how Latin American LGBT movements respond to their historical and cultural conditions and develop notions of progress. The paper builds off of Judith Butler and Anne Tsing's theories on universality and globalization as well as Peruvian Gonzalo Portocarrero's analysis of Peruvian nationalism. Its main claim is that the Peruvian LGBT movement's negotiations with global LGBT movements inhibits its ability to build a grassroots movement.

Disciplines

Feminist, Gender, and Sexuality Studies | Latin American History

Comments

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Soy Moderno y No Quiero Locas
Modernity and LGBT(Queer) Perú

A thesis submitted in partial fulfillment
for the Bachelor of Arts degree in
URBAN STUDIES

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2015-2016 Penn Humanities Forum Undergraduate Research Fellow
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Abstract

This paper explores the LGBT rights movement in Peru from 1980 to the contemporary period. It uses a historically-based, ethnographic methodology to explore the LGBT rights movement and its mediation between transnational and domestic contexts. Particular focus is paid to the *Movimiento Homosexual de Lima* and the recent *Union Civil Ya!* movement. It builds off existing critical scholarship examining how Latin American LGBT movements respond to their historical and cultural conditions and develop notions of progress. Its main claim is that although Peru's gay rights movement initially focused on intellectually-inspired, deep-seated cultural changes toward sexuality, contemporary and mainstream organizations now seek legitimacy by forming part of the package of modernity sought by elite Peruvian stakeholders in society.

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Introduction

“It was June of 2013, when I went to the LGBT March for the first time with my mom. I felt overjoyed, because she wanted to go out of her own will, but hours before the march, I found myself filled with fears I thought I had overcome. Like the fear of coming out of the closet before everyone, but above all the fear of the consequences of coming out before everyone, and the consequences of my mom being out with me, now that she was in a sense coming out with me. But she knows me more than anyone, and she noticed my fears and said: “don’t be scared for yourself, nor for me, I am happy to be here, be happy too and let’s march,” and she tightly held my hand. This made us cry out of our joy, but above all, because of the pride we have for one another.”-

From *Un Monstruo Bajo Mi Cama*, a play.¹

In November 1980, Peruvian sociologist Roberto Miro Quesada reportedly called his friend, economist Oscar Ugarteche, to urgently ask he meet with the philosopher Michel Foucault at NYU. As the story goes, Ugarteche was then living in New York and Miro Quesada was interested in creating a new Lima-based group that explored non-heterosexual sexuality.² He had learned Foucault was lecturing at NYU’s Humanities Institute and sought his advice regarding strategies for gay activism. Today, Ugarteche recounts this story as the unlikely stepping stone for Peru’s longest running gay rights group: Movimiento Homosexual de Lima (MHOL). Its veracity aside, the story drove my initial intrigue in the evolution and contemporary landscape of Peru’s LGBT movement. What did it mean that a pair of light-skinned, gay male intellectuals pointed to a conversation with a famous French philosopher in New York as a place of origin for an emerging movement thousands of miles away? What insights did this offer about the Peruvian queer movement’s current state of affairs?

As Peru’s LGBT movement has developed, the terms of activism have changed. While it continues to self-conceptualize in relation to transnational activism, the role this has played has changed due to the Peruvian government and society’s increasingly ambiguous stake in LGBT rights. The country’s pressing discourse of development and modernization has produced a

reaction by political leaders—however superficial—that ensures its homophobic policies do not fall out of line with Peru’s frame as a modernizing country. For example, in June 2015, Martha Chavez—a right-wing Peruvian congresswoman—acerbically voiced her opposition to same-sex civil unions on Twitter: “The euphoric [supporters] of gay unions do not reveal that the US Supreme Court’s decision was 5-4. Isn’t the right to information a human right?”³ In her remarks, she responds to the Supreme Court decision that legalized marriage equality across the US and subsequently inspired Peruvian pro-gay rights activists. Chavez’s confusing logic exemplifies the tensions produced by Western achievements in pro-LGBT legislations. She both rejects and uses outside influence by highlighting the dissent of four socially conservative US justices as defense for her homophobia. Dominant gay activist and advocacy groups have seized upon the anxiety political leaders like Chavez display through a civil-union and more recently—marriage equality—centered campaign exemplary of a rights-based framework of activism.

Ugarteche’s retelling of MHOL’s formation and Chavez’s tweet illustrate a central shift in Peruvian queer activism. Both stories involve transnational relationships, but they approach these entanglements differently. Ugarteche and Miro Quesada viewed themselves as conveyers of Foucault’s seemingly radical scholarship about the socially constructed nature of sex. In doing so, they sought to profoundly transform deep-seated cultural and social values Peruvians had about sex and sexuality—restrictive, colonial-legacy ones. These actions, however, were subversive to the status quo. Martha Chavez’s anxiety, on the other hand, results from her awareness that Peruvian LGBT groups advocating for *gay unions* (to borrow her language) have gained a degree of legitimacy among urban elites seeking to develop Peru into a respectable country on the seeming increasingly gay-friendly world stage.

Outwardly, Peruvian society seems to move in a socially progressive direction by increasing awareness of mostly gay and lesbian-related issues. Inwardly, however, some activists—particularly those that formed part of MHOL’s formation—feel the change in activism to a Civil Union focus has been strategically conservative.

Many historical and anthropological analyses of Latin American queer movements implicitly center the West in their discussions. Such a strategy risks disregarding how non-Western queer movements rupture with the West. Through a historically-based ethnographic analysis of the contemporary Peruvian LGBT movement, this essay speaks to the societal and cultural encounters unfolding in a diverse set of LGBT spaces—both historically and contemporaneously. These voices contradict, confuse, and reaffirm the myth of global LGBTQ progress. I argue that although Peru’s gay rights movement initially focused on intellectually-inspired, deep-seated cultural changes toward sexuality, mainstream organizations now seek legitimacy through an internationalist, individual-rights based discourse that falls in line with the ideals of Peruvian modernity.

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In Peru, a number of gracious individuals and entities lent their support. Among them were André, Joseph, and numerous young and brave LGBT activists that filled me in, so to speak, on the movement's internal references. Peruvian poet Violeta Barrientos introduced me to a wide array of Peruvian intellectuals interested in LGBT studies, including Giancarlo Cornejo Salinas, a doctoral student at Berkeley. These introductions led to numerous conversations that, though not cited here, greatly informed the scholarship I read and the shape of my thesis. Staff at the Biblioteca Nacional de Lima and the Instituto Flora Tristan were enormously resourceful, and I could not have uncovered the few LGBT-related primary sources hidden away at their institutions. Finally, I would like to thank my family, especially my mother, who was always present when I became frustrated with Peruvian bureaucracy or needed company to a neighborhood I was unfamiliar with. Muchas gracias.

Chapter I: *Queer Perú & Modernity*

The line to a free screening of the play *Un Monstrou Bajo Mi Cama* was nearly two hours long. Its popularity among Lima's young and hip crowd was rooted both in its content and transcendental message of love, equality, and justice. The play consisted of seven monologues by gay men from an array of racial and class backgrounds. Each monologue involved a discussion of each man's respective relationship with his mother. In line, the excitement for the play was palpable. Gays, lesbians and transgender people surrounded me. Dispersed throughout the crowd, I even saw older women, presumably mothers accompanying their children to the play. When I asked a gay couple in front of me how they felt about the play, they exclaimed it was part of a *turning point* in gay activism in Lima.

The collective *#NoTengoMiedo* organized *Un Monstrou Bajo Mi Cama*. As the hashtag indicates, *#NoTengoMiedo*, relies primarily on an online platform to spread the word about artistic endeavors and to publicize media that positively portrays LGBT people in Lima. Its name translates literally to *I'm Not Afraid*, and has become a recognizable motto among a crowd of progressive, modern, and young *Limeños*. Right before we entered the theatre, I perused the items at the temporary gift shop *#NoTengoMiedo* put up. Alongside t-shirts, I saw banners and mugs with *#UnionCivilYa* typeface in red-and-white colors (representing the Peruvian flag). As a young Peruvian gay man accustomed to the physical and psychological violence LGBTQ people in Lima and Peru face on a daily basis, I could not help but share the excitement of the audience. Efforts like the *#UnionCivilYa* campaign and *#NoTengoMiedo* had made the gay community increasingly difficult to ignore for Peru's political elite and religious leaders.

Throughout the past month, however, activists from Peru's historical LGBT organization—MHOL—expressed their skepticism to me about the intentions and consequences

of this seemingly historical moment. For the past thirty years, MHOL had spearheaded a long tradition of LGBT activism. Alongside lesbian and transgender collectives it had formed the first country-wide grassroots front in 2002, the *Frente por el Derecho a ser Diferente*.⁴ The organization had also persevered across violence, by both terrorist organizations like the MRTA (Movimiento Tupac Amaru) in the 1980s and by police officers that have continued to harass individuals as well as organized protests well into the 21st century.⁵

While exciting, the emergence of the civil union-focused band of the LGBT movement seemed all too glitzy and ahistorical for MHOL's and its counterparts' leadership. The civil union campaign formed part of a developmental, modernizing discourse that ignored Peru's long-standing police brutality, lack of democratic participation, and overall socioeconomic inequality. These issues were particularly important to the old guard of gay activism. Groups like MHOL had operated without any substantial political alliances—save for its relationship with the leftist congressman Javier Diez Canseco—and meaningful celebrity endorsements. An event like *Un Monstrou Bajo Mi Cama*, however, even performed at Lima's public National Palace of Art. And, although MHOL initially drafted Civil Union legislation, it had developed a healthy degree of skepticism toward the government. While waiting in line for a seat in the theatre, I wondered: what exactly led to this historical moment? What type of politics did *#NoTengoMiedo* and *#UnionCivilYá* subscribe to? What made them distinct from MHOL?

Debates surrounding *modernity* have persisted across the social sciences and historical scholarship, primarily because of historical changes that have mediated its definition. Here, I approach modernity as the “tension between autonomy and fragmentation.”⁶ Specifically, my research understands modernity as the “autonomy of the Subject...the self-assertion of the self” and as “a social project destroys its own cultural foundations.”⁷ Since my research concerns the

cultural and societal dimensions of modernity, this definition intentionally veers away from its material dimensions (economic and political). The individual rights-based framework of the Civil Union movement aligns with the autonomous subjectivity the project of modernity demands.

In terms of modernity's relationship to cultural erasure, although literature on Latin America and modernity has focused on how they are "mutually excluding phenomena,"⁸ I agree with Jorge Larraín's argument that "Latin America has been simultaneously constructing its cultural identity and modernizing."⁹ I depart from his analysis, however, by arguing the Latin American cultural identity that emerges from modernization results from strategic cultural erasure. In Peru, Gonzalo Portocarrero argues that the process of modernity has led to an "idea of creole nationalism"¹⁰ that rejects ethnic fragmentation by disavowing indigenous identity and embracing European culture. I employ this understanding of modernity within the context of Peru throughout my discussion of the gay movement's individual rights-based framework.

Queer Perú

Scholarship about Peru's modern gay and lesbian movement is relatively scarce. This situation applies even more gravely to transgender or bisexual communities (groups often marginalized in the LGBT acronym). One example is the article "The Silence of Resistance: Peru (1982-1995)"¹¹ (*El Silencio de la Resistencia, Perú*) by the scholar-activist Oscar Ugarteche. He argues the Peruvian gay movement initially lacked the political leverage to combat homophobia in the country. In a sense, the movement reflected the depressed state of social movements in Peru's heated 1980s and 1990s political context.¹² Though a founding member of MHOL, he criticizes the organization's focus on the cultural instead of political

progress of gays and lesbians. He takes the organization to task by contrasting its relative failure to the advancements other countries have made “for nearly a decade and a half.”¹³

Ugarteche criticizes MHOL’s cultural focus as lacking the political leverage to combat homophobia in the country. While more gays were represented on television, “to the date of this article, the main source of laughter for Peruvian television is comedic television with gay themes.”¹⁴ According to Ugarteche, there were only 37 participants in the country’s first gay pride march, while other Latin American cities like São Paulo held some of the largest gay pride celebrations in the world. Problematically, Ugarteche claims that whereas traditionally Western-based forms of political and social expression drive Argentina and Brazil, Peru continues to have strong Moorish and indigenous-based oral traditions. In oral societies, he argues, “what is said is what is meant to remain.”¹⁵

This argument falls into a stereotypical trap and lacks historical depth; Peruvian society is more accurately characterized as a confluence of Western and non-Western cultures. The central question for Ugarteche, then, is how did the Peruvian LGBT community become more anonymous in the 1990s while other countries in the region made “advances for nearly a decade and a half?”¹⁶ Ugarteche’s problematic point of view reflects his fraught position as an activist-scholar. Putting aside his personal entanglement as an activist, how Ugarteche resorts to foreign comparisons to sound the alarm about Peru’s lingering stagnation.

How have broad, transnational gay and lesbian influences played out on an everyday level in Peru? Peruvian sociologist Angelica Motta argues that even as globalized understandings of homosexuality have entered the urban Lima sphere, *Limeños* who have sex with men have not readily embraced these notions. Motta identifies a worldview where being a *traditional gay* means assimilating to stereotypical notions of homosexuality (where the gay man is seen as

feminine). On the other hand a *modern gay* requires assimilating differently, to being “less *loca* [literally translated as crazy, but in this context, feminized hysteria] and being more *buses*, or discreet.”¹⁷ Peruvian gay men thus negotiate transnational influences according to their own understandings of gender and sexuality. Though in other countries an intentionally discreet and intentionally overt masculine gay man might be interpreted as closeted and repressed, among at least certain social sectors in Lima this man symbolizes assimilatory progress.

José Montalvo Cifuentes—another sociologist—criticizes the emerging globalized culture and neoliberal economy of Peru because it fails to account for the experiences of the vast majority of LGBT Peruvians.

“In the middle of the apparent path to progress, the integration to globalized society and the supposed equality of opportunities offered by free-market ideology, there are diverse social groups that live on the margins...among them the homosexual.”¹⁸

Cifuentes argues *the homosexual* is marginalized socially and economically. This is particularly relevant to people already lacking employment and educational opportunity, since the precarious nature of the jobs they can gain make them more vulnerable to LGBT-based discrimination. For Cifuentes, this makes it difficult for the Peruvian gay figure to ‘come out’ and not partake in “the essential element of [gay] resilience.”¹⁹ Youth suffer psychologically after being ruptured from their families, entering the world of ‘the street’ “where...the only valuable things they are left with are their bodies and youth.”²⁰

Ugarteche, Motta, and Cifuentes illustrate a fragmented sense of LGBT identity in Peru. While on the one hand Ugarteche criticizes the relative “silence” of the gay and lesbian movement, Motta and Cifuentes nuance this so-called silence. Ugarteche’s frustration stems from his assumption that Peruvians should fall-in-line with its Argentine and Brazilian

counterparts. Motta's ethnography, however, shows that key fundamentals of gay and lesbian liberation—like *coming out* and *pride*—play out differently in Peru. A *proud* gay man signifies unrespectable flamboyancy. Cifuentes thus strengthens Motta's argument by pointing out the precarious economic constraints already marginalized queer Peruvians face.

Setting the Stage: Sexuality and Colonization

The literature concerning queer movements and their intersection with modernity has been the result of intense scholarship on the relationship between sexuality, colonization, and imperialism. Overall, scholarship on sexuality has largely focused on the experiences of gay and lesbian movements in the U.S. and Western Europe.²¹ An emerging field of research analyzes *queeriness* in relation to colonialism and globalization, bringing forth non-Western histories of sexuality. Of course, sexuality *within* the West has certainly not developed homogeneously. Simplifying its development reinforces the centrality of the West. Sexuality has evolved vis-à-vis its relationship with slavery, hegemony, and notions of global citizenship. By the same token, non-heteronormative²² and non-Western conceptions of sexuality have been extensively documented across the globe.²³ The gay and lesbian movement's recent legal and social successes, however, point to a need to understand how the historical entanglement between Western expansionism and sexuality unfolds contemporaneously.

This work builds off of French philosopher and historian Michel Foucault's theoretical foundation on sex and discourse in *The History of Sexuality*.²⁴ One of Foucault's main arguments concerns the West's historic repression of sex; the Catholic Inquisition a salient example. He insisted this repression did not signify a complete silencing on sex, but instead led to an obsessive desire to illustrate its entirety: "sex was taken charge of, tracked down as it were, by a discourse that aimed to allow it no obscurity, no respite."²⁵ Whether via Catholic confessions or

Inquisition rites, taking full account of sex cultivated a discourse “capable of functioning and taking effect in its very economy.”²⁶ Sexual discourse conceptualized sex and embodied its structural control—how it was performed, its functionality, and regulation. In conceptualizing sex, hegemonic discourse normalizes forms of sexual behavior, categories of sexual citizenship, and the performance of gender as well as sexuality.²⁷ Butler extends this analysis in her arguments concerning gender and performance, where she posits that social norms like gender that “constitute our existence carry desires that do not originate with our individual personhood...[but] the viability of our individual personhood is fundamentally dependent on these social norms.”²⁸ Thus, gender is not inherent to the individual, but the successful performance of gender is necessary for an individual’s livelihood.

Anthropologist Ann Stoler builds off of and challenges Foulcault’s theoretical foundation by documenting the relationship between sexual discourse, imperialism, and European sexual regulation. Stoler rejects Foulcault’s theory that European practices and behaviors regulating sex were self-affirming. Instead, she argues that European bourgeois society was characterized by the tension “between a culture of whiteness that cordoned itself off from the native world.”²⁹ Sreenivas demonstrates how this characterization plays out in the historical record, arguing that colonial sexual interventions controlled and separated native peoples from colonists along racial and economic lines, “justified...as part of a broader mission to civilize...colonized subjects by introducing them to European and Christian...behavior.”³⁰ This separation created a valuable social cultural hierarchy for colonial empires since it segregated native populations and placed colonists on a pedestal.

Colonial interventions in sex and sexuality transformed the historically matriarchal, polygamous, polyamorous, or otherwise alternatively structured indigenous societies. “Western

standards of heteronormativity and monogamy...[that] emerged through industrial capitalism, where women were consumers and not producers”³¹ relegated women and feminine identity to the domestic sphere. Besides separating women from men and native from colonist, colonial sexual regulation also dealt with homosexuality. Homosexuality was not a novelty for 19th century Western society. It had also been accepted and observed in some form by indigenous cultures worldwide.³² Nonetheless, it was formally criminalized in 1885 by the British Empire.³³

The criminalization of homosexuality in the 19th century can be understood alongside the separation of seemingly savage and primitive indigenous peoples from so-called civilized colonists. A primary distinction that made colonists seem more civilized was the seeming sexual continence or, *self control*, of white men that demonstrated their “racial superiority...and buttressed [their] strength and [racial] purity...”³⁴ This distinction was rhetorical in nature, of course, and did not necessarily reflect lived reality. An implicit rejection of homosexuality was an example of a rhetorical distinction between Western and non-Western people. Stoler cites a case in French colonial Vietnam, a half-French, half-Vietnamese male attempted to appeal a conviction of assault on the basis of his French-ness. A colonial court, however, rejected his French-ness on the basis of “coded allegations of homosexuality,” demonstrating that “adherence to middle-class European sexual morality was one implicit requisite for full-fledged citizenship in the European nation-state.”³⁵ Colonial anxiety with ensuring the racial purity of white male colonists even led to the creation of an elaborate system of colonized female concubines for men “at risk” of homosexuality.³⁶

The British and French attitude to homosexuality falls in line with Foucault’s depiction of the 19th century as a time when “society had affirmed...that its future and its fortune were tied...to the manner in which each individual made use of his sex.”³⁷ Governments *policed* the

use of sex effectively because they viewed their people as *populations*, or subjects, to be managed. However, Sreenivas and Stoler counter Foucault's claim that "the universal reticence in talking about [sodomy] made possible a twofold operation: on the one hand severity...and on the other, tolerance."³⁸ Homosexuality was, at least rhetorically, implicitly acknowledged. As the Vietnamese man's failed appeal shows, its implicit acknowledgement had material consequences. Colonialism demarcated what was sexually permissible in the public sphere for the white, male figure, thereby acknowledging homosexuality was practiced in the private sphere.

During the colonial and imperial period, Western powers viewed non-heteronormative expressions of sexuality as affronts to patriarchal society. For Edward Said, this sustained the "idea of European identity as a superior one in comparison with all the non-European peoples and cultures."³⁹ Said's theory adds dimension Foucault's by positing sexuality was socially constructed through discourse but also operated in terms of colonization. This has been supported by historians of colonial Latin America. Pete Sigal argues the era was marked by a constant preoccupation with same-sex desire due in part to "extended contact with other cultures."⁴⁰ Sigal nuances Sreenivas' argument regarding the British Empire by arguing that in Latin America, "colonizers, in order to promote masculine valor in the emerging society, [found] it very important to critique effeminacy."⁴¹ Though sodomy between men faced all-around critique, there was a level of tacit acceptance for the *active*, or penetrating partner in these relationships because it reinforced his masculinity.

Queer Latin America

Though this project is not about the colonial regulation of sexuality in colonial or early post-colonial Peru, this review of sex and colonization provides a foundation to discuss the

relationship between modernity and queer movements in Latin American as well as Peru more specifically. As the review attests, this relationship is not novel, but has evolved over time as colonialism takes on new forms (i.e. imperialism, post-colonialism, globalization, etc.). Finally, the review complicates Latin America as the *next frontier* for the spread of cultural acceptance and pro-LGBT rights legislation. Colonial rejection of homosexuality problematizes this neat, linear narrative of LGBT progress. By avoiding this supposition, I recognize the region's interconnected relationship with the Global North while avoiding the latter's superimposition.

A popular narrative has nonetheless emerged in the West regarding LGBT history. In the U.S., the LGBT movement is regarded as “the next” civil rights battle in the nation's struggle to achieve full democracy. President Obama famously evoked the New York stonewall riots in the 2013 inaugural presidential speech, pairing it alongside Seneca suffragists and the civil rights movement.⁴² Marriage equality represents mainstream gay America's ultimate pursuit: achieving same-sex marriage state by state, country by country. Considering US cultural dominance in the globe, how can Latin America negotiate its sexual identity? How do Latin American LGBT movements situate themselves between the region's historical colonial background and the modern narrative of LGBT rights? These questions drive the next section of the literature review.

A significant portion of the literature on Latin American LGBT movements focuses on the region's considerable slow progress in comparison to the Global North.⁴³ Javier Corrales and Mario Pecheny discuss why Latin America struggles to move forward on gay rights. On a broad level, they argue Latin America has lagged behind on this issue because of its autocratic past and unstable post-democratization, “a combination of a false sense of triumph...[and] other priorities...meant that LGBT rights in the early 1980s and 1990s did not advance greatly.”⁴⁴ More critically, however, the authors identify *multiple closets* LGBT Latin Americans traverse to

come out, including: “the marital-life closet...the good-parent closet, and the top-versus-bottom closet...or the idea that that as long one is a sexual penetrator...[they are] compliant with heteronormativity.”⁴⁵

Each of these “closets” is characteristic of Latin America’s varying degrees of patriarchy and strict gender relations. At the same time, however, *multiple closets* and the compromises they involve point to a flexible (albeit problematic) interpretation of LGBT identity. For example, coming out in marriage is not mutually exclusive with coming out of the top-versus-bottom closet. In other words, a man could admit a sexual interest in the same gender to his female partner while protecting his masculinity by performing as a *top*. This scenario echoes Sigal’s suggestion that colonial authorities tacitly tolerated sodomy for the *masculine-acting* partner.

The anti-gay Catholic Church and hesitant leftist political parties avoiding “polarizing issues”⁴⁶ further curb progress. The authors thus argue the globalization of LGBT rights provides a valuable avenue to counter these regional obstacles. Access to LGBT people worldwide online, “LGBT-geared” tourism, asylum through immigration, and transnational jurisprudence have made “LGBT movements ...beneficiaries and exploiters of globalization...”⁴⁷ Privileged members of the LGBT community benefit from global cultural and economic exchange, using their buying power to travel and engage in upper-class nightlife. This includes both privileged LGBT communities of the Global North and Latin Americans with social and economic capital. LGBT people disadvantaged by a lack of legal protections and social capital within their native countries exploit this landscape by accessing information on sexuality, identity and—if applicable—*safe havens* of sexual expression. Moreover, Corrales and Pecheny do not discuss the extent to which this latter form of exploitation proves influential or practical.⁴⁸

The authors frame LGBT rights in Latin America within a broader discourse that links gay rights with universal modernization.⁴⁹ However, this relationship is not so straightforward. The ideal of universal gay rights has created a transnational sexual rights movement based on a “sense of shared identity...unique to the contemporary world”⁵⁰ that partakes in a larger, global conversation on the inherent value and inalienability of human rights. Nonetheless, the US government’s shift to explicit support of gay rights continues to be politically partisan and religiously polarizing. The transnational movement for LGBT rights has only recently gained a “seat at the global table,” having previously faced a combined force of US, Russian, and Middle Eastern opposition.⁵¹ Within the U.S., the narrative of universal LGBT rights is also complicated by its exclusion of racial and ethnic minorities, or as one scholar put it, “the simple gay equals-white perception of [US] gay movements.”⁵²

At the grassroots level, the merging of Global North and Global South notions of sexual rights has created a situation of constant negotiation between the two, in a sort of “dubbing process.” Often, Global North notions of sexual identity supersede Global South notions, resulting in tension that expose the “hidden biases in global sexual rights discourse, including the predominance of secular over religious notions of human rights and the disjuncture between global mainstream sexual identities.”⁵³ Some Latin American gay rights organizations have consequently pursued alternative strategies that recuperate their understandings of sexuality as opposed to advancing Western, or US-hegemonic ones. One example is the Northeastern Brazilian *Criola* organization, which acknowledges “international human rights advocates... see religious freedom and sexual tolerance as distinct...[but] most Candomblé practitioners would have difficulty separating one from the other.”⁵⁴

Organizations like *Criola* are the exception to the rule. Wiering and Sirori show how two types of *post-colonial amnesia* produce obstacles for gay rights movements worldwide. Ignoring its aforementioned colonial-era homophobia and sexism, the “West prides itself on its freedom, respect for human rights and tolerance, while its own racist, misogynous, homophobic past and present are conveniently ignored.”⁵⁵ This “colonial amnesia” neglects the significance of the West’s construction of nationhood based at least partially on racism, misogyny, and homophobia. These actions invariably established the standard for so-called civilization and modernity. A form of colonial amnesia consequently emerged, where formerly colonized states condemn sexual dissidence through “a selective memory of indigenous, pre-colonial sexual customs, regimes, and institutions” since the “patriarchal family represents the promise of civilized society.”⁵⁶

Particularly explicit forms of homophobia from this perspective might be viewed (however erroneously) as anti-*Western, modern, or globalized*. This is especially true in a post-9/11 world where the “xenophobic clash of civilizations discourse among right-wing Western politicians...has progressed side by side with the mobilization of homophobia by authoritarian regimes in some countries of the Global South.”⁵⁷ The authors suggest enhanced US nationalism following 9/11 led to a rejection in certain areas of Global South of homosexuality because it was erroneously associated as characteristic of American imperialism. Although this rejection was present before 9/11, the conflation of homosexuality with US imperialism received heightened awareness in the post 9/11 period. Though this might seem like rash, populist rhetoric, radical queer scholars have proposed gay rights are packaged together with imperialism in the “form of ‘homonationalism’ in which GLBT rights are portrayed as inherently Western,” and democratic.⁵⁸

These tensions have played out differently in Latin America because of its cultural and political context (most Latin American countries have Western governmental structures and identify with Western cultural practices). In some countries authoritarianism has occurred in waves—notably with Peru’s anti-democratic Fujimori government in the 1990s—but the turn of the century witnessed an overall rise in democratic governance. Sexual minorities carved a place in newly democratic governments using strategies dependent on their national contexts. Rafael de la Dehesa illustrates these differences by comparing the influence of institutional governmental structures and technocratic agencies in Brazilian and Mexican sexual politics. Brazil’s political parties offered flexibility to leaders undermining party discipline by supporting LGBT rights, while the Mexican movement aligned itself with a broad democratic coalition that forced a degree of compromise (i.e. calling for *sexual diversity* instead of explicitly LGBT rights).⁵⁹

Despite these differences, Dehesa argues both countries share a similar relationship with transnationalism in terms of liberal modernity and LGBT activism. He critiques the application of liberal universal ideals like universal rights and democratic inclusion in Latin America because they have “historically come packaged with enormous physical and symbolic violence associated with colonial and capitalist expansion.”⁶⁰ At the same time, he shares Corrales’s and Pecheny’s recognition that marginalized groups have organized around these very principles. This analysis resonates strongly with the shape of modern Brazilian and Mexican LGBT activism. Both movements share urban middle-class origins, a “reflection of early activists’ participation in a global community sharing a transnational repertoire...that penetrates societies differentially across regional, racial, ethnic, and class boundaries.”⁶¹ Activists with privileged

education and cosmopolitan backgrounds could access the information and rhetoric circulated by Western movements.

This early transnational influence, however, has not led to a one-way relationship where Mexican and Brazilian activists blindly exploit universal LGBT activism. Instead, Dehesa emphasizes the complex negotiations Latin Americans have made. This strategy has led to more rapid political acceptance than in the Global North for some countries, like the successful partnerships Brazilian activists made. He compellingly argues LGBT identities and movements are constructed through transnational and national influences simultaneously, where “changes in one field, say at the transnational level, permit actors to challenge [identity] constructions at others.”⁶² Dehesa stops short of establishing a cause-and-effect relationship between global LGBT progress and national Latin American contexts. He ultimately argues such progress does not translate neatly across borders and is instead adopted according to domestic contexts.

Scholars like Oscar Encarnación, however, argue that Dehesa over-emphasizes domestic conditions in Latin America and as a result “ignores or undervalues how the domestic context interacts with external influence.”⁶³ For good measure, Encarnación also rejects conventional wisdom that “leads to serious distortions and misinterpretations about Latin American gay history—such as the view that gay rights activism in Latin America is a post-Stonewall phenomenon.”⁶⁴ However, he argues scholarship on Latin American gay rights should strike a sort of middle ground by focusing on how the “domestic environment has mediated external influence with respect to gay rights.”⁶⁵

Theoretical Approaches

A turn to social theory helps conceptualize Encarnacion's position more thoroughly, as well as the development of LGBT activism in Peru. Butler has argued that universal claims, like universal gay rights, are contaminated by their specific cultural origins. To be effective, Butler states universal claims must undergo cross-cultural translations, otherwise "the only way...universality can cross a border is through a colonial and expansionist logic."⁶⁶ If universal claims persist in their original forms, they can only be intelligible to different contexts through cultural imposition. Cultural translation poses several risks, namely that the "very claim of universality is bound to various syntactic strategies...which make it impossible to separate the formal from the cultural features of any universalist claim."⁶⁷ She acknowledges the possibility of making universalist claims that avoid imposing a specific worldview. However, she cautions translation is imperfect and is embedded in a specific language and way of organizing rendered untranslatable.

If universalism is inherently contaminated by its cultural origin, what happens when universal claims are used by marginalized groups to gain human rights? Butler responds to the debate posed by critical theorists like Paul Gilroy who believes universalist-based claims about disenfranchisement expose the limits of the very idea of universal human rights and thus have significant value.⁶⁸ She accepts groups historically excluded from universal claims (i.e. human rights) can re-appropriate them to make demands. Much like Hegel, however, Butler insists no "universal is freed from its contamination" from both its "origin" and "travels."⁶⁹ Even if a universal claim yields genuine human rights outcomes, its cultural specificity can "perpetually re-establish"⁷⁰ the discourse and social frame that led to the exclusion of the respective social group in the first place.

Anthropologist Anne Tsing parts ways from Butler by arguing that the encounter between Western *universals* with so-called *local* contexts is layered with *friction*, “inspir[ing] expansion – for both the powerful and the powerless.”⁷¹ Perhaps because of her practical observations of this *friction* through her ethnographic work, Tsing recognizes the productive value of this friction. She argues thinking of globalization pragmatically through friction disrupts the abstract dichotomy of the *global* imposing on *local*. Friction shows how this interaction is shaped by “coercion and frustration join[ing] freedom as motion is socially informed.”⁷² Globalization does not spread so-called freedom abstractly. Its movement across borders meets in a concrete *global encounter* shaped by social and historical contexts at any given point.

How does this relate to social movements? Tsing argues global social movements spread through universals; whether in terms of human rights, gender equality, environmental activism, and so forth. This ideological frame is valuable for activists across social justice areas because it solves the basic challenge posed by global politics—communicating across transnational lines. However, Tsing questions the simplicity of such a frame, asking: “How do logics of classification order differences among coalition partners even as they make it possible for them to work together?”⁷³ She explores this question through an ethnography of Indonesian environmentalism.

Particularly relevant are three of her ethnographic findings about the movement of global activist symbols and collaborations across difference. Tsing demonstrates the potential contradictions of transnational collaborations through the example of Western conservation-minded activists confronting environmental degradation defended for its economic development, evidencing the “awkwardness of translation.”⁷⁴ Each side appealed to different notions of transnationalism to win the dispute. The company pursuing the venture cultivated “an imaginary

populism,”⁷⁵ translating speeches to the region’s local language and arguing “outside forces” influenced environmentalists. Preservationists appealed to a transnational audience that included tourism and “a local, national, and global future based on public interest.”⁷⁶

Another factor shaping the Indonesian experience is the translation of global figures and ideas that might appeal to different contexts ideologically, but are that are not intelligible on a linguistic or colloquial level. Tsing calls these “allegorical packages” that explain how political and activist movements outside Indonesia acquired meaning in the country, or “how close and distant productions politics intertwine.”⁷⁷ The Indonesian movement used the symbolism of Chico Buarque (a Brazilian Amazonian activist) to galvanize international support and legitimize Indonesian environmentalism.⁷⁸ This required “remaking the [Indonesian] nation”⁷⁹ through translation. A potent example was the awkward translation of the word *indigenous*—whose rights were a rallying cry for Buarque—to Indonesia, which lacked a similar notion of pre-colonized populations. The absence of a suitable translation reveals that while the transnational spread of activism can inspire and provide language for local activists, the “spread of the allegorical package is never free from the particularities of its place of origin.”⁸⁰

To reiterate, however, Tsing does not necessarily view these complications as necessarily negative. In fact, she redefines how collaboration along transnational lines can be imagined. She describes the collaborations behind the environmental activism for the Meratus forest as “bring[ing] misunderstanding into the core of alliance...they [collaborations] make wide-ranging links possible: they are the stuff of global ties.”⁸¹ Differences, she argues, are central to the alliances formed (and required) for social movements. Tsing strikes a balance between acknowledging the potential consequences of global social movements and how they can be negotiated for social change. She rejects research that views globalization as either proscriptive

of homogenization or as the ultimate spread of personal liberty and the free market. Instead, Tsing calls for greater attention of stories of activism that “both acknowledge imperial power and leave room for possibility.”⁸²

Queer Perú (Part II)

Tsing thus successfully challenges and improves Butler’s theory about the spread of universal claims. In this way, she also fills the missing theoretical link between Encarnacion’s and Dehesa’s historical projects. This discussion, however, only addresses the “foreign/transnational” dimension of the transnational-domestic interactions I seek to analyze in the gay and lesbian rights movement of Peru. What can I say about the “domestic” side of these interactions? What about Peru’s domestic context is valuable to this discussion?

Understanding what being “Peruvian” means greatly enhances my analysis of LGBT people seeking inclusion as full Peruvian *citizens*. This discussion also picks up where the first section of this review—about specific scholarship on gay and lesbian Peruvians—left off by turning outward into the Peruvian society as a whole. Peruvian sociologist Gonzalo Portocarrero in *La Urgencia Por Decir ‘Nosotros,’*⁸³ recently argued that the basis of Peruvian society is not-so-neatly packaged fragmentation. Peruvian elites, politicians, and the Lima-centric milieu of society has historically employed the “idea of a creole nationalism, of a collective project centered on the disavowal of ethnic fragmentation and the common cause to imitate the European and reject the indigenous.”⁸⁴

Portocarrero challenges *mestizaje*’s celebration of racial mixing as a smokescreen for a racist ideology that disavows indigenous identities. He identifies the ideology of *mestizaje* as a result of the Western idealization of a coherent nation-state that supposedly respects universal human rights and treats its citizens equally. Portocarrero argues that everyday experience,

however, demands that the nation-state be a venue for citizens to recognize their unity across difference. In Peru, however, “racism and the colonial order continue to contaminate daily life despite a republican legal structure and the formal consecration of equal rights.”⁸⁵ He thus calls for a new vision for a nation-state and Peruvian nationalism which inspires “a collective life [based] on the ideals of liberty, equality, and fraternity.”⁸⁶

Two historical myths have inhibited Peruvian society from embodying these ideals: a potential destructive “race war” and the resurgence of the Inkari (or the idea that the Inca are still alive and will return to avenge their conquest). Societal response to the first myth acknowledged and reinforced racial division to prevent a race-war.⁸⁷ In the contemporary period, the *criollo* feared being displaced by the indigenous populations of Peru through a race war. Following the 1980s, such a fear seemed to realize itself for many urban *criollos*, through the failure of land distribution to reduce poverty, the violence of Marxist-Leninist terrorism in the highlands, and a new association between crime, danger, and indigeneity. This narrative “continues to mark creole identity as being on the defensive in a country whose complexity remains incomprehensible.”⁸⁸

What would make the application of universal human rights in the country less contradictory? Portocarrero proposes a “just memory”⁸⁹ that negotiates both mestizo and indigenous identity. In present-day Peru, the terms of inclusion for historically marginalized members of society are being increasingly contested. *Criollismo* has re-emerged out of Peru’s entrance into modernity, celebrating indigenous roots as unique on the world stage. However, this celebration simultaneously participates in cultural as well as historical erasure (which, recalling the definition I provided earlier, forms part of modernity). *Criollismo* of this new

iteration envisions Peru as a “fabulous reality where the past is still alive”⁹⁰ and thus imposes a superficial representation of indigeneity and national unity.

Along working class lines, however, Portocarrero identifies a simultaneous cultural revolution. He calls it *nueva cultura*, or the site “where rhythms combine...in variant ways, to form a potent sound attractive to Peruvians of very different creeds.”⁹¹ *Nueva cultura* thus challenges the changes demanded by modernity and globalization with a confluence of Andean-inspired musical traditions and culturally hybrid cuisine (like Peruvian-Chinese *chifa* mixed with Afro-Peruvian cuisine). This cultural revolution is absent from the aforementioned tourist representations of Peru that depict a Machu Pichu-like environment. Nonetheless, Portocarrero recuperates these representations of Peru by placing them in conversation with *nueva cultura*, that altogether culminates in a renewed “discovery that Peru’s most potent quality is that which it has always less appreciated.”⁹²

Research Questions

The observations I began my review illustrate how these dynamics operate at a grassroots level. In such a terrain of contested citizenship, what type of movement and voice do LGBT Peruvians create? How does the movement remain united while engaging in the dominant narrative of modernity (or *criollismo*) as well as *nueva cultura*, which serves as a site of vindication for marginalized Peruvians? Furthermore, what transnational claims and myths does the movement employ in its activism? These series of questions guide my primary analysis and lead to my main argument, in which I claim that contemporary and mainstream LGBT organizations now seek legitimacy by forming part of the package of modernity sought by elite, developmentalist Peruvian society.

Methodology, Plan & Additional Notes

This paper employs a historically based ethnographic analysis. It seeks to gain a sense of how the LGBT movement has mediated changing domestic and transnational social conditions. I thus conducted oral history interviews of activists present in the early emergence of the LGBT movement, particularly those involved with the Movimiento Homosexual de Lima (MHOL). I layered these interviews by analyzing primary sources, including newspaper articles and documents that described workshop seminars on sexuality.

To assess the contemporary landscape, I utilized both interviews and ethnographic observations. I attended the 3rd LGBT Conference of the Americas held in Lima, which brought together international dignitaries with Peruvian LGBT business owners, activists, and youth. In addition to copiously observing the dynamics of the conference and analyzing its set of speeches, I also partook in lively conversations about the LGBT community with young activists, academics, and leaders alike. Finally, I will be analyzing media-level activism in the form of videos and social media posts through a discursive and visual analysis. I perform a close reading of campaign media materials and place them in conversation with my interviews and ethnographic field notes.

The title of my first chapter, “*Locas Radicales (Y Respetables)*,” refers to the backgrounds and ideologies of the gay movement’s early stakeholders. They were primarily men with university backgrounds and access to financial resources. The chapter is a close-reading of primary sources, mainly concerning oral histories. It serves as context and a gateway to my next chapter, which concerns the contemporary landscape of gay and lesbian activism in Peru. At times, I rely on specific sources in the literature review to explain specific dynamics that emerge out of the close readings. The second chapter, “*Locas Modernas (Union Civil Yá!)*,” refers to the

movement's increasing participation in discourses of modernity is a discussion of my ethnographic findings in Lima. Given the constraints of a thesis and an undergraduate career, I was not able to conduct a full-scale ethnography. Instead, my ethnography involved observations and fieldwork over two trips. The first was from May to June 2015, and the second from December to January 2016. I met my interviewees and gained access to different LGBT community and social spaces between May and June 2015. My institutional and racial privilege provided me with a high degree of access enabled me to access the higher-level individuals I interviewed and attend events like the conference. Moreover, I view my acknowledgement of this privilege as a point of departure, not as a stopping point. Wherever possible, I remained cognizant of how these privileges effected how people interacted with me and their portrayals of identity and activism.

Finally, I would like to mention a few notes regarding language. There is no Spanish equivalent for *queer* in the language. Most of the time, Peruvians refer to the movement as *el movimiento gay* (or *gai* for a literal spelling). Some Peruvians, especially outside of Lima, sometimes use *el movimiento homosexual*. Outside of formal settings, many gay men and women use the term *maricon* to self-identity and refer to other queer people. Lesbian women are sometimes referred to, both in a derogatory and self-identifying way, as *lecas*. The nature of writing a thesis in English about Spanish language observations and documents, however, means that the slippage of language is unavoidable. As a researcher, I have tried to remain faithful to my informers while also varying word choice and making the thesis intelligible to an English-speaking audience. I have thus chosen to use the categories *LGBT* and *Queer* throughout the thesis. When I refer to *gay and lesbian* specifically, I generally intend to highlight the exclusion of bisexual and transgender people. For word variation, however, I sometimes choose the general

“gay movement” or “gay rights” categories in my discussion. A thesis filled with acronyms is not readable, and *queer* is not always appropriate (particularly when referring to specific subjects who do not identify specifically as queer). Moreover, any areas in identification or categorization are entirely mine.

Chapter 2: *Locas Radicales (Y Respetables)*

The Movimiento Homosexual de Lima (MHOL) emerged in a period of Peruvian history where the rights of lesbians, gays, bisexual, and transgender individuals were not a priority. After a decade of a relatively peaceful yet deeply consequential military coup by the leftist General Juan Velasco, liberal democracy was restored with the re-election of President Fernando Belaunde Terry in 1980. A US-educated architect and urban planner, his government was characterized by an initial liberally-minded reformist agenda that sought closer ties to the US by attempting to undo many of the *reforma agraria* (land reform) policies pushed by the Velasco government.⁹³

Gradually, Peru's decade of enormous governmental change and social tension imploded in the creation of the Maoist-inspired terrorist organization *Sendero Luminoso*. Long ignored, the group threatened the stability of Peru's central government while it claimed to call attention to the country's enormous social tensions. Inequality between urban, mestizo Peruvians and the rural, indigenous poor had remained unresolved in the post-Valesco era. The group, however, did not operate like a typical Latin American Communist political party. It became dangerously dogmatic to the point of terrorizing Andean villagers with massive kidnappings and executions.⁹⁴

Until the early 1990s, the civil war raged in the rural highlands and largely left Lima unaffected. Nonetheless, the country was marked by its failure to unite across historical challenges and divisions. This specific historical context shaped MHOL's founding. Though gay and lesbian issues were not the Peruvian government's priority, there was not a better time for the group to organize. The vacuum of power caused by the civil war made actors on the periphery—like gay Peruvians—question their subjugation.

Outside of brief descriptions on the general timeline of Peruvian LGBT movements, the original history of MHOL is largely up to interpretation. It has thus been memorialized and mythologized by generations of activists, as MHOL lacks a reliable and existing historical archive. Oral histories from the organization's original founders combined with historical interviews as well as analysis of other primary sources shed light on the group's initial tensions, goals, and position within Peruvian society as a whole. The material reveals MHOL's initial members benefited from cultural and social capital, but that they were invested in a radical form of social change. Their activism was informed by social theory. Moreover, MHOL's activists needed this social capital to access information about gay and lesbian activism abroad and gain attention from the media and politicians. However, this high-level foundation made MHOL's leadership too insular to build the grassroots movement necessary for sustainable positive change.

Oscar Ugarteche⁹⁵ was one of MHOL's early founders and continues to be one of the group's visible national figures. His worldview is largely informed by his undeniably privileged background, evident by a last name associated with one of Peru's most powerful families.⁹⁶ Today a prominent economist with a professorship at the National Autonomous University of Mexico (UNAM), Ugarteche has now retired from formal engagements with activism.

Ugarteche identifies the emergence and development of MHOL with a phone conversation he held with Roberto Miro Quesada⁹⁷ towards the end of 1980. Miro Quesada had already brought together gay men and women organizing a space for LGBT Peruvians to discuss identity and activism. Then in New York, he asked Ugarteche to meet with the well-known French historian Michel Foucault. According to Ugarteche, Foucault described his theory of sexuality and

strategies for activism. Their conversation led to the conceptual base for MHOL and informed Miro Quesada's initial anonymous manifesto for the movement in 1985.

It is impossible to ascertain how Ugarteche's conversation with Foucault transpired. A newspaper article published in 2012⁹⁸ that celebrated MHOL's anniversary claims Miro Quesada met with Foucault. To be fair, Foucault was a NYU visiting lecturer in November 1980,⁹⁹ so the possibility of a meeting with Ugarteche or Miro Quesada is not far-fetched. A historical document written by current MHOL staffers identifies MHOL's emergence earlier, between 1977 and 1980.¹⁰⁰ It seems that the phone call was Ugarteche's entrance into the then-informally organized movement.

Placing Foucault's ideas aside, what was the impact of this intellectual and Western academic foundation? Ugarteche performed a sort of dual career as an activist and academic. In a series of writings throughout the 1990s, Ugarteche sought to uncover the historical foundations for Peruvian homophobia. He argued colonialism created an underground sexual culture where "the rainbow of sexuality is expressed freely within certain restrictions."¹⁰¹ His profile as an intellectual and activist affected his relationship with peers during MHOL's early days. He explains he was excluded from MHOL's official leadership because "I was way too leftist and part of *la Izquierda Unida*."¹⁰²

Moreover, Ugarteche's self-professed identity as an intellectual played out negatively vis-à-vis Miro Quesada. Both leaders were "engaged in intellectual competition and disposed to a very *limeñan* feud predicated on two [powerful] last names."¹⁰³ The aforementioned MHOL document describes Miro Quesada as a leftist sociologist, but of the "Chicago school," which differentiated him from "OU [Oscar Ugarteche] [who] was of the very radical PUM (Partido Unido Mariateguista)."¹⁰⁴ Thus, the early state of MHOL was dominated by high-level

intellectual debates and personalities. The high-level nature of these figures disposed them to transnational news and influences. The document thus confirms Miro Quesada's request to Ugarteche to talk to Foucault, it does state that "RMQ [Roberto Miro Quesada] asked OU to contact...New York's gay leftists. Simultaneously, OU learns of Foucault's theory on the rainbow of sexuality through personal conversations." The document relates "more systematic conversations...of 10 to 12 people, men and women, with the purpose to reflect over the meaning of being gay or lesbian in Peru."¹⁰⁵

Most of the participants in these early conversations and meetings were university students. Enrique Bossio, sheds light on the dynamics surrounding these conversations in an interview he gave during the early 2000s. Bossio self-describes as a university student confounded by his sexuality. In the 1980s, he found refuge in a group of people with similar experiences that had been "organizing theatrical and social events for more than two years."¹⁰⁶ Ugarteche identifies this culturally-informed intellectual space as the basis for MHOL, explaining he and his peers "needed to create a neutral space...where people could come from the street and be engaged."¹⁰⁷ The group organized theatre nights every Friday during the summer of 1985 where "we would watch a play and at the end we would pass around the wine and open the discussion...it became the intellectual craze of the summer of 1985."¹⁰⁸

Ugarteche's use of *intellectual* and Bossio's university background (from a prestigious private university, the Catholic University of Peru) indicate the terms of inclusion for the group were highly exclusive. The group was not only exclusive in terms of its sophisticated activities— theater, wine, and presumably, a critically engaging discussion—but also because of its access to a common language around sexuality. In the interview, Bossio states the group validated his "life as a homosexual" in a society that misunderstood such labels as totalizing nouns.¹⁰⁹ This

“correct” understanding of homosexuality was the linguistic and intellectual bridge the early activists needed to identify with European gay and lesbian groups. The foreign groups showed Bossio and his counterparts it was “possible to organize the kind of group we wanted.”¹¹⁰ The activist further contrasts the European model of activism with the intolerance that pervades Lima, blaming its backwardness on a “very rural and colonial mentality.”¹¹¹

Bossio’s juxtaposition between cosmopolitanism with the rural and colonial is not immediately obvious. He associates Lima’s backwardness and its restrictive colonial past straightforwardly, seemingly replicating Ugarteche’s search for the source of Peru’s historical repression of homosexuality and queer identity more broadly. However, the association between the word *rural* and social conservatism carries a thinly veiled, racial meaning. Bossio fears the *rural* because its values represent the social conservatism that marginalizes homosexuality, but his disdain also reflects his background as an urban, middle-class educated man in Lima. It is useful to remember the context of the 1980s and the challenges it represented: hundreds of thousands of rural, indigenous peoples from Peru’s highland interior fled violence and migrated to Lima. This mirrors Portocarrero’s description of a heightened race war. For Bossio, this manifested itself in fear towards dangerous urban and indigenous migration.

Bossio’s admiration for European activists and disdain for Lima’s lack of cosmopolitanism represents a moment of ideological *friction*, to borrow Tsing’s analytical tool. Not all activists shared his point of view. Ugarteche remembers the seminars he began in 1988 as the result of the need for the activists to identify a Peruvian “cultural gay reference.” At the time, he felt the group needed to “build our own culture...because if there is something that we’re not, it’s Europe.”¹¹² Ugarteche may have been shaped by the recent *new culture* that recognizes and recovers Peru’s unique cultural heritage. Nonetheless, Ugarteche’s pursuit of a *Peruvian* history

of sexuality complicates the narrative of MHOL's founders being blind importers of European LGBT activism. Foucault's philosophical approach to the history of sexuality indicates there was a desire by early activists to uncover an unrecognized Peruvian history of sexuality.

This analysis risks romanticizing Ugarteche's negotiations with Western models of LGBT activism. In interviews, he emphasized he was interested in accessing Peru's "pre-columbian" past to "dig up a distinct [Peruvian] past."¹¹³ He views Peru's pre-Columbian past as the source of the country's distinctiveness. In doing so, he shies away from analyzing how the last five centuries of colonialism, independence, and social inequality have shaped the country's history of sexuality. He partakes in what Portocarrero calls the fantasy of the living, Incan past.

MHOL's founding document—a manifesto—complements Bossio's recollections of the 1980s. Its driving mission is "that homosexual men and women of Peru acquire real consciousness of their situation and organize to defend their rights as citizens."¹¹⁴ Members of MHOL's initial organizing committees were certainly aware of how their privileged points of view isolated them from *clases populares*, or lower-middle class people. In another transcribed oral interview, a man with the initials CID described MHOL's attempts to connect with people outside its insular social circle.

"I would think why not hang out with other types of people. What would be the place to do meet [these people]? Volleyball. Because volleyball, for whatever reason in this country, is a sport where many gays converge. [And]...it connected the two worlds. The popular world and the middle class world. [Volleyball was] the equivalent to *popular* dining halls."¹¹⁵

MHOL was thus fully conscious of its lack of grassroots participation in its "movement." The practice of "seeking out" the popular classes, however, was not effective in diversifying its membership. According to CID, the volleyball games quickly became "not spaces for

socialization but more and more...a competition, etc. The volleyball game would end and the and [the players] from San Martin would return to their bars to drink.”¹⁶ Even people like CID, with greater awareness of MHOL’s exclusivity, fell into the trap of elitism. MHOL’s members did not seem to have entered the volleyball games to interact with people of lower-class backgrounds on equal footing. The strategy was ineffective because it was patronizing; CID assumed volleyball games were natural environments for *clases populares* and thus spaces for consciousness-raising. Instead, to her and MHOL’s disappointment, volleyball ended up being just that: a sport.

Later on in the decade, the organization focused on obtaining legitimacy from the state through media publicity, left-wing political alliances, and collaborations with public health officials against HIV/AIDS. In a context averse to Marxism and the added onus of being LGBT, MHOL understandably avoided entering the political fray. This strategy was effective in relation to Peru’s fight against HIV/AIDS. MHOL became one of the few organizations that “related the fight against AIDS with affirmating an alternative sexuality,” and from 1989 and 1993, cooperated extensively with USAID to “organize workshops on safe sex and counseling that attracted more than 1,000 people, in addition to establishing a telephone service that provided answers to more than 3,000 people.”¹⁷

MHOL’s leadership in HIV/AIDS increased its visibility and legitimacy as a movement. Its outreach to vulnerable populations to HIV/AIDS also gave the organization access to a badly-needed base of grassroots support. Though MHOL provided services to these populations, its activism continued to take the form of high-level partnerships. The transnational, person-to-person relationships MHOL had secured through figures like Ugarteche and Miro Quesada became institutionalized. This shift responded to domestic conditions: the government was

indifferent to the concerns of the gay and lesbian population¹¹⁸ and funding for HIV/AIDS prevention was absent. Thus, MHOL “sends a project to Holland, to the Novib [Dutch Organization for International AID]...in October of 1985 [MHOL’ receives a letter announcing the approval of the project and a congratulatory letter from John Schlanger...it was the first time the Dutch NGO financed a homosexual movement.”¹¹⁹

Despite MHOL’s leadership in HIV/AIDS, the deteriorating state of Peruvian democratic institutions and a general lack of political proved to be insurmountable obstacles. 1980s Peruvian LGBT activism did not benefit from the type of political partnership Mexican and Brazilian groups enjoyed. Ugarteche perceived MHOL’s initial strategy as “trying to break into the social rupture with a new sense of common sense.”¹²⁰ The social turmoil caused by the country’s civil war and hyperinflation, however, required political partnerships that were unreliable in a highly charged political environment.

The 1990s witnessed significant legal obstacles for MHOL and the wider LGBT movement. Fujimori became infamous for his autocratic presidential style, closing Congress in 1992 in a sudden *Auto-Coup*.¹²¹ In December 1992, over 117 Peruvian diplomats were fired by Fujimori. The action provoked outrage among Peru’s ruling class. *El Comercio*, the paper-of-record, described it as “a flagrant slap in the face for Foreign Service personnel...there is no valid explanation for the [government’s] announcement of the censure of these functionaries.”¹²² The newspaper hesitated to publish the government’s *invalid* explanation for the firing: the officers had been accused of participating in homosexual acts. Bossio reacted angrily to the anti-democratic nature of the firings, but felt they were simply symptoms of the country’s rampant homophobia being “supported by the majority of the population.”¹²³

Ugarteche described similar confrontations with the government over the issue of homosexuality. Some of these were awkward. They represented the movement's strategic caution to fully emulate its European counterparts. For example, when the Communist leader Julio Castro Gomez—inspired by Denmark's recognition of registered same-sex partnerships in 1988—proposed civil unions to the Peruvian Congress,¹²⁴ MHOL was taken aback by what they perceived as a rash action. Ugarteche describes the moment dramatically, stating Castro went forth without “consulting MHOL” and he heard about the proposal indirectly, “through a fax while I was in Norway...I was sent newspaper clippings of how Fujimori's press responded: *Julio Castro, the uncovered homosexual*.”¹²⁵

These confrontations are attributable to Peru's institutionalized homophobia. Many Peruvians suffered from hostility towards LGBT people. However, MHOL's response did not need to be defined by this environment. In an interview, a prominent lesbian activist¹²⁶ associated with MHOL's development argues the group suffered from a lack of grassroots focus. She describes the small circle Bossio and Ugarteche formed part of as undesiring of new ideas: “MHOL did not place young people as leaders in the 1990s.”¹²⁷ The organization's absent grassroots base and generational diversity was apparent in its reaction to events like the firing of the diplomats and Castro's public shaming. Instead of staging public demonstrations, Ugarteche led MHOL's response through high-level mediums. He describes writing a letter to *Caretas*, a highbrow publication with an upper-class, intellectual readership.¹²⁸ This action mirrored the type of activism even Bossio ultimately questioned:

“What I fear is that in our efforts to fit into the mainstream we were not successful in changing the opinion people have...everyone knows...a few homosexual men and women who go to the university and who appear on TV...to defend their rights.

Eventually there will be a certain level of respect for these people. But the transvestites and the hair stylists—the most visible part of the homosexual community—will continue to be discriminated against and marginalized.”¹²⁹

Bossio’s critique plays out in the different responses to the diplomat crisis and Castro Gomez’s proposal. The firing of respectable diplomats compelled the elite press to respond, but key to their editorial was avoiding even explicitly mentioning homosexuality. Instead, they vaguely stated there was “no *valid* explanation” (emphasis added). When LGBT activism pushed the envelope of respectability, it faced vitriolic response, to the point that Castro was publically accused of being homosexual.

The activism Bossio describes reflects in how MHOL’s origin is remembered. The space that offered refuge to university students like Bossio and intellectuals like Ugarteche was an educationally enriching environment. It led to a shared notion that homosexuality was a *normal* identity compatible with their identities. Whether real or imaginative, transnational exchanges like Ugarteche and Miro Quesada’s with Foucault validated the activists. Collaborations with non-Peruvian entities like USAID in the fight against HIV/AIDS showed the activists that gays and lesbians had an important role to play in social progress.

The educational backgrounds and overall socioeconomic privilege MHOL’s early protagonists enjoyed served the Peruvian LGBT community positively and negatively. Their capital provided them the luxury of time—essential to establish a successful organization. As the anonymous lesbian activist stated during our interview, “without the economic privilege I enjoyed, that is, I didn’t have to work a day job while being a university student...I wouldn’t have been able to form part of that [MHOL’s] activism.”¹³⁰ It also gave them access to ideas

circulating abroad about non-heteronormative sexual identity as well as funding opportunities, to the point that they were validated by USAID as a partner in the fight against HIV/AIDS.

Nonetheless, instead of building a grassroots base of support made up of “transvestities and hair stylists,” MHOL advanced their cause through mediums only people like them could access and understand. Ugarteche’s seminars on the history of sexuality in Peru and regular news TV appearances were important. However, they simply did not engage a large group of young, non-elite people in sustained political and social change. While Peru’s authoritarian government throughout the 1990s and the social upheaval it suffered in the 1980s were significant structural obstacles, a grassroots social movement could have curtailed its consequences and yielded a greater number of legal and social gains in the 1990s.

Into the 1990s

The authoritarian context of the 1990s did not prevent the gay and lesbian movement from evolving, but it limited its scope. Representations of gay and lesbian Peruvians throughout the 1990s and early 2000s are found in publications like the high-brow magazine *Caretas*. These representations provided much-needed visibility to the community, but not all of this visibility was necessarily positive. Much of it resulted in making gays and lesbians more of an exotic spectacle. Lima’s first public gay manifestation (held in either 1995 or 1996)¹--held in the *Parque Kennedy* of the upper-middle class district Miraflores—lacked the vivacity of similar events staged across Latin America at the time. One newspaper at the time recounted the “dozens of police officers surrounded and maintained their [the protestor’s] place.”¹³¹ Another activist—Aldo Araujo—described the march as consisting of “motivational phrases written on poster

¹ It appears that two marches were held in 1995 and 1996, but I was not able to verify which was independently organized and which is considered the “official first manifestation.”

boards that manifested our discontent with a society that did not include all people with their rights.”¹³²

Nonetheless, activists did not consider these assemblies of people marches *per se*, instead, they were precursors to Lima’s first major, publically recognized gay pride march in 2002.¹³³ As Jorge Chavez, another major gay activist recalls, “the first...was a meeting with a pedestal where music would be played, but I would always see that other countries realized marches already for many years and it was something that we were looking to organize.”¹³⁴ Peru’s volatile domestic context was not the only limiting factor in the gay movement’s lack of a substantive march. Due to internal political divisions, MHOL’s influence had also declined. At the time, Manolo Forno was MHOL’s director, but the horizontal leadership that previously characterized the organization had gradually died down. MHOL’s memory document explains:

“at first the group was very integrated, everyone would make democratic decisions, by majority vote, we would discuss and heavily analyze until the end. We were part of the same, we did not have an institution but we had ourselves. Now instead every decision is made by an executive.”¹³⁵

Thus, MHOL’s new professionalization worked against its effectiveness. In a time of political discontent, what MHOL needed was grassroots outreach that built a movement based on demands for democratic participation. However, as the document later adds, “now everyone wants to be respectable. There is a new cultural moment.”¹³⁶

One important factor that may have contributed to MHOL’s professionalization was how gays and lesbians—even important ones—were treated in the public sphere. In May 1997, *Caretas* discussed the commotion caused by a lesbian kiss in the play *Baño de Mujeres* and Ellen Degeneres’ simultaneous but incidental coming out. Given the mixed reaction in the US to

Ellen's coming out, the article questions how Peru would react to a similar incident. Citing an anonymous female artist that also came out publically as gay, "[the female artist] regretted [coming out] as soon as the words came out of her mouth. Now she does not want to discuss the issue until *society is prepared* [sic]."¹³⁷ However, the article hampers the awareness it provides on gay women in Lima through thinly veiled, condescending language. Reviewing lesbian nightlife culture, the author calls one club the "Lima and 1990s version of the island of Lesbos, or the nightclub of the single women."¹³⁸

Three years later, the same magazine featured Peruvian economist Oscar Ugarteche in a June 2000 article titled "El Orgullo de Ser Gay." *Caretas* conducted the interview after Ugarteche, (a founding member of the Movimiento Homosexual de Lima), came out publically on a blog which attracted more than 100,000 visitors. Ugarteche frames his sexual identity within other marginalized categories of Peruvian society, stating that to be "different is difficult. . .just like to be free in a society castrated by colonial weight, [or] a democrat in an authoritarian society."¹³⁹ He brushes off the significance of his coming out, exclaiming "people think this process is a recent. In countries like Chile or Argentina, with notable European influence, this has come about for many years," and that Peru's problem is shared by other "Andean countries" that have a "deep-rooted chauvinist culture."¹⁴⁰

However, the article's characterization of Ugarteche as an out-of-touch intellectual weakens his persona as a political leader. It mentions his "elegant, San Isidro apartment" and at one point, the author even records Ugarteche's renovation plans: "[Ugarteche] I'm going to place crystal pyramids in this part [of the patio] like Versace does in his apartment in Paris."¹⁴¹ Both the feature on Ugarteche and the article on lesbian culture in Lima illustrate the LGBTQ's community lack of representation and visible grassroots movement at the turn of the century.

The articles demonstrate representation focused on prominent individuals like Ugarteche that may have promoted greater awareness on being gay, but at least by 2000, had not sustained a broad-based campaign for LGBTQ rights. Transnationally, large-scale gay pride marches may have become the preferred mechanism for social change on the issue of gay rights. In Peru, however, the media and general public's continued indifference to the gay and lesbian community solidified MHOL's professionalization. In lieu of the power of a large-scale grassroots movement, MHOL sought entry into the mainstream milieu on its terms—that is, respectability. As Ugarteche's characterization demonstrates, however, sometimes respectability backfired.

Chapter 3: *Locas Modernas (Union Civil Ya!)*

The last decade of Peruvian LGBT activism has witnessed a political and societal resurgence. This issue continued to attract mainstream attention during the latter half of the 1990s. Particularly noteworthy was the phenomenon of openly bisexual writer Jaime Bayly's debut novel. *No se lo digas a Nadie* was scandalous exposé of a young man's exploration of homosexuality in a conservative, upper-class culture.¹⁴² However, a catalyst of sorts has formed as a result of the *Union Civil Ya!* (Civil Unions Now!) campaign. It has reached cultural and media outlets and affected institutions historically averse to acknowledging homosexuality: the Catholic Church and the Peruvian government.

In the last section I suggested the LGBT movement's initial formation lacked the grassroots base it needed to fully disrupt Peruvian cultural norms and impact the lives of the most marginalized members of the LGBT community. I also ended my analysis with a discussion of the growing professionalization of the movement's then main organization, MHOL. Of course, this professionalization reflected a broader preoccupation the movement had with fitting into heteronormative norms. How did increasing professionalization relate to the LGBT movement's evolution in the 21st century? And, further, did the mainstream movement's professionalism and alignment with heteronormativity respond to transnational and domestic pressures?

The Civil Union movement is by no means perfect. However, its emergence has challenged Peruvian society on the issue of LGBT rights and galvanized broad-based grassroots support in ways previously unseen. A continuation since MHOL's founding has been Peruvian negotiations with US and European notions of LGBT identity and activism. *Union Civil Ya!* campaign marketing materials, ethnographic observations of the Third LGBT summit of the

Americas, and interviews with major LGBT leaders reveal the movement appeals to notions of a *modern* Peruvian citizen forming part of a global conversation.

The picture depicting the city's gay pride march this year is starkly different than that activists described in 1996. In recent years, the march has received widespread attention. Major newspapers covered this year's event, and popular media outlets like *Peru21*, (akin to *USA Today*), also joined—even creating a hashtag, #YoMarcho.¹⁴³ The march's level of media coverage and the size of its crowds is misleading to an extent. To date, very few public officials have expressed their support for LGBT rights of any form, and only one mayor of Lima, Susana Villaran, has participated in the March.¹⁴⁴



Figure 1: 14th Gay Pride March held in Lima, Perú. Source: <http://peru21.pe/actualidad/yomarcho-asi-se-vive-marcha-orgullo-gay-lima-fotos-y-videos-2221833/16>

The march does, however, illustrate the vibrancy of the current LGBT movement. Rainbow flags and colors extending into the crowd display a sense of unity and affirmation the 1996 picture simply lacked. The balloon-made *Love* banner and the rainbow flags themselves, of course, point to the march's participation in universal LGBT symbols. Red and white colored flags—Peruvian

flags—disrupt the globalism rainbows represent. The crowd members holding Peruvian flags affirm their sexuality is not mutually exclusive with their national identity.

This affirmation persists throughout *Union Civil Ya's* campaign marketing materials. Its most visible example are red and white graphics (see Figure 3). The colors evoke obvious patriotism. The joining of hands into a heart encircling an equality sign, however, persuades its audience the Civil Union movement encourage unity, not division.



Figure 2: Translation - Civil Unions Now! Together for Equality

Equality does not consist of only *love*, as the heart implies, but also of *citizenship*.

The duality of equality based on matrimonial love and citizenship percolates in two online video campaigns. A campaign video from 2014¹⁴⁵ features a series of mostly older men and women reciting “Yo tengo derecho...” or, literally, “I have a right to...” throughout the video, varying the sentences with the rights and privileges civil unions would provide to same-sex couples. More recently, the campaign produced a second video,¹⁴⁶ its title asking “Union Civil, hasta cuando?” or “Civil Unions, until when?” The protagonists are younger and the video

is directed to an audience pre-disposed to supporting the campaign. The first young woman in the video questions: “Have you asked yourself how long it will take for one of our rights to be recognized?”¹⁴⁷ Other characters in the video express a similar message, commenting on the struggles the movement has already overcome and persuading the audience to “add yourself to the fight for equality.”¹⁴⁸

Both videos evoke a modern conception of citizenship and avoid challenging mainstream comfort levels with LGBT identity. They target a Limeñan audience, as none of the featured characters of the videos have non-Limeñan accents. This makes one of the claims of the first video confounding. A character alludes to Peru’s multilingual society by arguing she has “a right to be respected regardless of my nationality or language;”¹⁴⁹ while her sentiment is not incorrect, it is confusing because neither she nor her counterparts appear to be native Quechua or Aymara speakers.

The videos repeatedly emphasize a rights-based framework for civil unions. This tactic might seem obvious to a contemporary observer of gay rights. It is, however, a powerful strategy that compels even the viewer uncomfortable with homosexuality to consider same-sex civil unions as one of the many universal rights all Peruvians—as citizens of a modern democracy—should enjoy. Despite the topic’s subject matter, same-sex couples are conspicuously absent from the videos. The use of the pronoun *I* as opposed to *We* in the videos also calls into question the campaign’s commitment to frame civil unions as a campaign on *gay* couples. Instead, the videos focus on individual access to a universal right. This tactic avoids intimidating heterosexual allies and reflects *Union Civil Ya!*’s advancement of a modern, individualistic notion of Peruvian citizenship.

How did the *modern* become more compelling than the *traditional*? An interview with an academic, (identified as CC for anonymity), illustrates this theme in greater detail. CC has been involved in activism since the 1980s and is now an older gay man with a relatively high degree of institutional legitimacy. Our interview was held at his office, located in the wealthy commercial district of Miraflores. CC is hardly discrete about his research interests and activism. The building was one of the few openly-LGBT advertised places in Lima. Its lobby was decorated with LGBT-themed posters from around the world. The university where it was located offered tranquility strikingly different than the city noise outside. The added open display of LGBT identity made the office function as a sort of refuge.

It was unclear, however, what the office offered refuge *from*. The prestigious private university permitted the open display of his research interests because it sought the cultural sophistication the interests represented. The guard strictly monitored the entrance. Two Peruvian visitors were escorted to the specified location they were visiting, whereas my American passport allowed me to simply pass through the gate and wait for the professor in the courtyard. Most of the students and faculty seated in the courtyard were racially white or light-skinned mestizos. The picture before me contrasted with my visit to Peru's largest public university, where guards did not monitor the entrance and where most students were dark-skinned mestizos or Afro-Peruvians.

The building's qualities resonated throughout CC's comments. After asking CC about the civil union campaign's potential, he expressed optimism as the "topic...[is] not necessarily seen as progressive...or leftist. It's about being modern."¹⁵⁰ Civil unions represented a modern, conservative strategy for LGBT people in Peru to gain civil rights. CC framed the issue as an inevitably successfully top-down political strategy. He takes Peru's desire to be *modern* as an

interest shared universally and not split ideologically. He also framed the desire for modernity vis-à-vis other Latin American countries, arguing “nowadays you have people visiting Chile and there are civil unions there, and Argentina—so you start realizing, people start realizing that the country is backward.”¹⁵¹

These excerpts reveal CC defines modernity in relation to global progress. He dismisses voices within the LGBT community that criticize the movement’s civil union focus, arguing it—more so than an anti-discrimination bill—will provide the foundation LGBT Peruvians need for legal and social recognition. As he states, “it [civil unions] makes you into a citizen. In equal terms...I think that civil unions provide grassroots support, and at least, generate debate on sexuality.” This mirrors the theme of the aforementioned videos of civil unions resonating with a vast number of non-LGBT Peruvians.

This vision sharply contrasts with MHOL’s current Executive Director, Giovanni Infante. MHOL’s headquarters is located in a less glamorous and exclusive environment. Its neighborhood is the lower to middle class district of Jesus Maria bordering low-income *barrio* La Victoria and ten minutes from downtown Lima. In many ways, MHOL’s location is reminiscent of Lima’s past. Its proximity to downtown Lima is archaic; many Limeñans with high cultural and social capital now view the area convenient only for its access to public offices but not as centers of wealth and entertainment. The vibrancy and promise of new Peru lies in districts like Miraflores, where tourists, Starbucks coffee shops and the city’s popular gay bar, *Downtown Vale Todo* thrive.

I processed these differences as I walked to my interview with Gio. I particularly fixated on CC’s comment that activists like Gio were “conservative”¹⁵² who did not oppose civil unions but the excessive focus they received. CC was frustrated by their seeming intransigence. My

conversation with Gio rejected CC's misinterpretations. The MHOL director emphatically insisted he supported civil unions, claiming that MHOL "wrote the proposed legislation and had the political connections for it to receive a fair hearing in Congress."¹⁵³ He explained his hesitation stemmed from their disproportionate media attention, especially with "hundreds of murders every year against transgender sex workers, when there are homeless youth in shantytowns who don't care whether they can get married."¹⁵⁴

Gio's comments illustrate a key difference between his style of activism and CC's. Infante subscribes to a bottom-up approach to activism. He repeatedly shifted the focus of our conversation to challenges pertinent to the most marginalized members of the LGBT community. Gio related to his sexual identity from a completely different cultural position. He identified himself as a man that was "a *cholo* (a derogative term for dark-skinned *mestizos*) *pobreton* (extremely poor), and an unashamed member of the *mariconada*."¹⁵⁵ Infante constructs his identity intersectionally. He recuperates the word *maricon*, (*faggot*), and *cholo* to draw attention to the fact he speaks from a place of marginalization. His self-identity complicates the view of citizenship *Union Civil Ya* puts forth. It breaks apart the idea that *equality of rights* will be achieved through the mere implementation of civil unions. By identifying as a *cholo* and a member of the *mariconada*, Gio questions how civil unions will make him a citizen when his rights are still constrained by the marginalization of his other identities.

What type of citizenship did *Union Civil Ya!* subscribe to and aspire to achieve? An analysis of the Third LGBT Summit of the Americas, held in Lima from May 28th to 29th, offers insights. The summit was sponsored by the US National Gay and Lesbian Chamber of Commerce, their global arm (NGLCC: Global), the US Agency for International Development, and the newly formed Peruvian LGBT Chamber of Commerce. *Union Civil Ya!* had a strong

presence at the summit. One of the summit's keynote speakers was Carlos Bruce, Peru's first openly gay congressman and since coming out, a highly visible proponent of gay rights. As the list of the summit sponsors suggests, the event focused on how the Peruvian LGBT movement's economic potential (tied to Peru's skyrocketing economic growth in the past decade) connected it to an international and economically powerful LGBT community.

The various stakeholders of the summit had different objectives. NGLCC's stated effort was to "convene...entrepreneurs, business leaders, and government officials to discuss issues surrounding diversity and LGBT economic inclusion."¹⁵⁶ NGLCC's representatives to the summit set a third goal: advancing free-market oriented development for LGBT rights in Peru. Its director opened the summit by inviting its members to an "economic movement focused on economic inclusion," demonstrated by "corporate sponsors that see the value of supplier diversity."¹⁵⁷ NGLCC Global's Assistant Director clarified how economic inclusion and LGBT progress were tied. She said NGLCC Global believes "supporting the advancement of LGBT-owned business is the quickest and most efficient way to secure LGBT progress," pointing to the strategy's success in "the U.S., Colombia, Argentina...and we're confident the same will hold true here in Peru."¹⁵⁸

The remarks made by the NGLCC representatives strive to create a connection between economic inclusiveness and LGBT rights. By calling LGBT economic entrepreneurship the most effective way to secure LGBT progress, they recognize universal rights like equality and self-expression are much easier to achieve with financial leverage. Their reasoning behind their interest in promoting LGBT entrepreneurship *in Peru*, however, was unclear. US Ambassador Brian Nichols later clarified this ambiguity in a later presentation. Ambassador Nichols highlighted the U.S. and Peru's strong relationship throughout his presentation. At the time, a

pressing bilateral issue was Peru's inclusion in the Trans-Pacific Partnership. A top priority for the Obama Administration, the ambassador praised the agreement for potentially bringing "\$45 billion dollars in investment to Peru...which the LGBT community in Peru should demand to be a part of."¹⁵⁹

The NGLCC and Ambassador Nichol's speech were interpreted by many Peruvian activists as validation for their potential and the country as a whole. During the breakfast before the conference, a conference organizer told me she and Peruvian LGBT activists had "many expectations for the conference...we're excited to see what the presenters can offer us."¹⁶⁰ At the summit's evening cocktail, an American businessman received thunderous applause after he explained his numerous investments in the country as the result of him having tasted "excellent Peruvian food."¹⁶¹

These observations made me realize that the foreign stakeholders' interest in expanding economic opportunity and growth in Peru through its LGBT population did not diverge remarkably from their Peruvian counterparts. Lima is a city new restaurants and heralded as a sign of Peruvian superiority and Peru a country where high GDP growth measures are common knowledge for even modest market sellers. Economic growth has made the country's authoritarian and violent recent past a distant nightmare. A piece of the \$45 billion pie mentioned by the Ambassador was appealing because it symbolized the possibility of LGBT Peruvians forming part of development dominating their national landscape. The NGLCC's message showed LGBT Peruvians a path towards being first-class global citizens.

Conclusion

MHOL's initial organizing did not build the grassroots infrastructure the Peruvian LGBT movement needed to galvanize wide-ranging societal support for progress. It suffered from a lack of viable political partnerships like those enjoyed by its counterparts in Mexico and Brazil. In addition, however, the organization also needed to build a wide-ranging, grassroots base to stage its demands resolutely on the public stage. The small circle of leaders that characterized its early years courageously built the basis of the LGBT movement, but their social exclusivity prevented the solidification of a larger social justice movement. Their appraisal of Foucault and European as well as American gay and lesbian movements did not lead to a strategy to achieve structural reform.

The story does not end here, however. *Union Civil Ya!* and the positive catalyst it represents for the LGBT movement is tantalizing. Its political strategy seems to imitate the civil union now, marriage equality later structure pursued by the US gay rights movement. Campaign marketing materials and ethnographic observations of its organizing spaces presents a far more complex picture. The campaign appeals to an economic notion of Peruvian citizenship. At the same time, the Third LGBT Summit of the Americas shows LGBT Peruvians' aspiration to legalize civil unions and become important economic actors is consistent with Portocarrero's observation of emergent *nueva cultura* nationalism. For Tsing, this aspiration confirms the reality that so-called "peripheral" communities make sense of a global ideal like gay rights according to what their context demands.

The path towards social progress across the globe, in terms of LGBT rights or otherwise, is increasingly difficult to chart and understand. Circulation of news is more accessible and faster than ever before in the modern era. Yet the all-knowing spread of knowledge that characterizes

this information age has not led to neat global homogenization. The ideal of a global community and global gay rights seems more like a performance than a reality; every stakeholder negotiates their roles as situations evolve.

A scene from the LGBT summit concretely captures this idea. As I sat down for the summit's lunch with a few Peruvian transgender activists, one looked at the soufflé we were served and remarked: "Where's *our* [emphasis added] Peruvian food?" The servers subsequently scoured the kitchen for hot Peruvian pepper sauce to please my new friends. They brought back tabasco. Frustrated, I quickly ran to a vegetable stand outside and purchased spicy red peppers. Using a knife and lime juice, I made classic *aji* for everyone to enjoy. The whole affair seized the group's attention, and soon everyone commented on the lack of Peruvian food. We had all just idealized ourselves as members of a global community, yet here we were combatting over what Butler would call cultural contamination. The lime juice and hot pepper literally and figuratively cleared our senses to the reality that we were not, and perhaps could never be, the same.

Notes

¹ Collective “No Tengo Miedo.” *Un Monstruo Bajo Mi Cama*. 2015.

- **Original Spanish:** *Era junio del 2013, cuando fui por primera vez a la Marcha del Orgullo LGBTI con mi madre. Me sentí muy feliz, porque nació de ella querer ir, pero horas antes de la marcha, me invadieron miedos que creía haber superado, como el miedo a salir del clóset frente a todos, pero sobre todo el miedo a las consecuencias de la exposición de mi mamá, ya que ella también salía del clóset conmigo. Ella que me conoce a la perfección, se dio cuenta y me dijo “no tengas miedo ni por ti, ni por mí, estoy muy feliz de estar aquí contigo, sé feliz tú también y vamos a marchar”, y me sostuvo fuerte de la mano. Esto nos hizo llorar a ambos de felicidad, pero sobre todo de orgullo por tenernos el uno al otro.*

² A note on language: whenever possible, I prefer to use the acronym LGBT (Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, and Transgender) instead of the word *queer*. While *queer* is gender inclusive and represents a spectrum of sexual identities, I found it confusing to use *queer* when there was no direct translation of the word in Spanish. However, for the sake of clarity and word variation, I interchange LGBTQ and *queer*. Finally, I use *gay rights* or *gay* when speaking of movements that primarily focused on gay men and women or when referring to the sexual identity of gay men and women. In the appropriate context, I also use variations of *lesbian*, but as an adjective instead of a noun. To be clear, many of my informants used *gai* and *LGBT* interchangeably in Spanish, but this liberal use of the terms is not intelligible in an English-speaking context.

³ “Martha Chavez - Twitter.” Twitter. June 27, 2015. Accessed February 01, 2016.
<https://twitter.com/marthachavezk36/status/614797477145915392>.

- *Los eufóricos d la union gay no dicen que la decision d la Corte Suprema de EEUU fue de 5 votos contra 4. No es DH el derecho a la información?*” Cossío, Martha Chávez.

⁴ Jennie, Dador Tozzini Ma., and Angélica Motta. *Perú: Políticas En Sexualidad*. (Lima: Universidad Nacional Mayor De San Marcos Fondo Editorial, 2010), 98

⁵ Jennie, Dador Tozzini Ma., and Angélica Motta. *Perú: Políticas En Sexualidad*. (Lima: Universidad Nacional Mayor De San Marcos Fondo Editorial, 2010), 95

⁶ Delanty, Gerard. *Social Theory in a Changing World: Conceptions of Modernity*. (Oxford, UK: Polity Press, 1999), 3

⁷ Delanty, Gerard. *Social Theory in a Changing World: Conceptions of Modernity*. (Oxford, UK: Polity Press, 1999), 3

⁸ Larraín, Jorge. *Identity and Modernity in Latin America*. Cambridge, UK: Polity, 2000), p. 7

⁹ Larraín, Jorge. *Identity and Modernity in Latin America*. (Cambridge, UK: Polity, 2000), p. 7

¹⁰ Maisch, Gonzalo Portocarrero. *La Urgencia Por Decir "nosotros": Los Intelectuales Y La Idea De Nación En El Perú Republicano*. (Primera ed. Pontificia Universidad Católica Del Perú, 2015), 15.

- “la propuesta de un nacionalismo criollo, de un proyecto de colectividad centrado en el olvido de la fragmentación étnica en el común empeño de imitar lo europeo y rechazar lo indígena”

¹¹ Please note that I am using Spanish-language sources for my review of Peru. I am personally translating article titles and quotes, including original quotes in the endnotes.

¹² Cite Alberto Fujimori and Shining Path

¹³ “El Silencio de la Resistencia: Peru (1982-1995). In *De Amores Y Luchas: Diversidad Sexual, Derechos Humanos Y Ciudadanía*. Edited by Allán, Jorge Bracamonte, Written by Ugarteche, Oscar. (Lima: Centro De La Mujer Peruana "Flora Tristán", 2001. Print), 306

- “frente a la avanzada regional de hace una década y media”

¹⁴ “El Silencio de la Resistencia: Peru (1982-1995). In *De Amores Y Luchas: Diversidad Sexual, Derechos Humanos Y Ciudadanía*. Edited by Allán, Jorge Bracamonte, Written by Ugarteche, Oscar. (Lima: Centro De La Mujer Peruana "Flora Tristán", 2001. Print), 305

- “A la fecha, el principal tema de risa en la televisión peruana es el de los programas cómicos con tema gay” (305)

¹⁵ “El Silencio de la Resistencia: Peru (1982-1995). In *De Amores Y Luchas: Diversidad Sexual, Derechos Humanos Y Ciudadanía*. Edited by Allán, Jorge Bracamonte, Written by Ugarteche, Oscar. (Lima: Centro De La Mujer Peruana "Flora Tristán", 2001. Print), 306-307

- “En las sociedades orales, se dice lo que se quiere que quede”

¹⁶ “El Silencio de la Resistencia: Peru (1982-1995). In *De Amores Y Luchas: Diversidad Sexual, Derechos Humanos Y Ciudadanía*. Edited by Allán, Jorge Bracamonte, Written by Ugarteche, Oscar. (Lima: Centro De La Mujer Peruana "Flora Tristán", 2001. Print), 306

- “frente a la avanzada regional de hace una década y media”

¹⁷ “Entre lo tradicional y lo moderno: La construcción de identidades homosexuales en Lima.” In *De Amores Y Luchas: Diversidad Sexual, Derechos Humanos Y Ciudadanía*. Edited by Allán, Jorge Bracamonte, Written by Motta, Angelica. (Lima: Centro De La Mujer Peruana "Flora Tristán", 2001. Print), 151

- “los gays modernos son definidos por ser menos loca y ser mas *buses*, o discretos”

¹⁸ “Detrás de la Puerta Angosta: Marginalidad, Discriminación y Violencia en el Centro de Lima.” In *De Amores Y Luchas: Diversidad Sexual, Derechos Humanos Y Ciudadanía*, Edited by Allán, Jorge Bracamonte, Written by Montalvo Cifuentes, José. (Lima: Centro De La Mujer Peruana "Flora Tristán", 2001. Print), 266

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- “en medio del aparente camino al progreso, la integración a la sociedad globalizada y la supuesta igualdad de oportunidades que oferta la ideología del libre mercado, existe diversos grupos sociales que son empujados a vivir en los márgenes...entre ellos el ambiente homosexual”

¹⁹ “Detrás de la Puerta Angosta: Marginalidad, Discriminación y Violencia en el Centro de Lima.” In *De Amores Y Luchas: Diversidad Sexual, Derechos Humanos Y Ciudadanía*, Edited by Allán, Jorge Bracamonte, Written by Montalvo Cifuentes, José. (Lima: Centro De La Mujer Peruana "Flora Tristán", 2001. Print), 279

- “La autoaceptación es un element de resiliencia.”

²⁰ “Detrás de la Puerta Angosta: Marginalidad, Discriminación y Violencia en el Centro de Lima.” In *De Amores Y Luchas: Diversidad Sexual, Derechos Humanos Y Ciudadanía*, Edited by Allán, Jorge Bracamonte, Written by Montalvo Cifuentes, José. (Lima: Centro De La Mujer Peruana "Flora Tristán", 2001. Print), 280

- “van a descubrir en la calle que las unicast cosas de vlaor que les queda son su cuerpo y su juventud.”

²¹ For recent surveys of gay and lesbian history, see: George Chauncey; *History of Homosexuality in Europe and America*; *The Construction of Homosexuality*, Michael Bronski (insert citations here)

²² Here I define *heteronormative* as a “worldview that promotes heterosexuality as the normal or preferred sexual orientation” (Oxford Dictionaries)

²³ cite short bibliography proving this

²⁴ Foucault, Michel. *The History of Sexuality*. (New York: Vintage Books, 1980)

²⁵ Foucault, Michel. *The History of Sexuality*. (New York: Vintage Books, 1980), 17-20

²⁶ Foucault, Michel. *The History of Sexuality*. (New York: Vintage Books, 1980) 23

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²⁸ Butler, Judith. *Undoing Gender*. (New York: Routledge, 2004), 2

²⁹ Stoler, Ann Laura. *Carnal Knowledge and Imperial Power: Race and the Intimate in Colonial Rule*. (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2002), 153

³⁰ "Sexuality and Modern Imperialism." In *A Global History of Sexuality: The Modern Era*, Edited by Robert Buffington, Written by Mytheli Sreenivas. (1st ed. New York City: Wiley-Blackwell, 2014), 76

³¹ "Sexuality and Modern Imperialism." In *A Global History of Sexuality: The Modern Era*, Edited by Robert Buffington, Written by Mytheli Sreenivas. (1st ed. New York City: Wiley-Blackwell, 2014), p. 68

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⁴¹ Said, Edward W. *Orientalism*. (New York: Vintage Books, 1979), 7

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⁴⁴ Corrales, Javier. Pecheny, Mario, ed. "Comparative Politics of Sexuality in Latin America." In *The Politics of Sexuality in Latin America: A Reader on Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, and Transgender Rights*. (University of Pittsburgh Press, 2010), 10

⁴⁵ Corrales, Javier. Pecheny, Mario, ed. "Comparative Politics of Sexuality in Latin America." In *The Politics of Sexuality in Latin America: A Reader on Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, and Transgender Rights*. (University of Pittsburgh Press, 2010), 17

⁴⁶ Corrales, Javier. Pecheny, Mario, ed. "Comparative Politics of Sexuality in Latin America." In *The Politics of Sexuality in Latin America: A Reader on Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, and Transgender Rights*. (University of Pittsburgh Press, 2010), 23

⁴⁷ Corrales, Javier. Pecheny, Mario, ed. "Comparative Politics of Sexuality in Latin America." In *The Politics of Sexuality in Latin America: A Reader on Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, and Transgender Rights*. (University of Pittsburgh Press, 2010), 26

⁴⁸ Corrales, Javier. Pecheny, Mario, ed. "Comparative Politics of Sexuality in Latin America." In *The Politics of Sexuality in Latin America: A Reader on Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, and Transgender Rights*. (University of Pittsburgh Press, 2010), 26

⁴⁹ Corrales, Javier. Pecheny, Mario, ed. "Comparative Politics of Sexuality in Latin America." In *The Politics of Sexuality in Latin America: A Reader on Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, and Transgender Rights*. (University of Pittsburgh Press, 2010), 27

⁵⁰ "Sexuality and the Contemporary World: Globalization and Sexual Rights." In *A Global History of Sexuality: The Modern Era*, Edited by Robert Buffington, Written by Richard Parker et. al. (1st ed. New York City: Wiley-Blackwell, 2014), 227

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⁶¹ Dehesa, Rafael. *Queering the Public Sphere in Mexico and Brazil: Sexual Rights Movements in Emerging Democracies*. (Durham NC: Duke University Press, 2010), 16

⁶² Dehesa, Rafael. *Queering the Public Sphere in Mexico and Brazil: Sexual Rights Movements in Emerging Democracies*. (Durham NC: Duke University Press, 2010), 23

⁶³ Encarnación, Omar Guillermo. *Out in the Periphery Latin America's Gay Rights Revolution*. (New York: Oxford University Press, 2016), 7

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⁷¹ *Friction*. Tsing, Anne. (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2004. Print), 9

⁷² *Friction*. Tsing, Anne. (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2004. Print), 6

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⁷⁴ *Friction*. Tsing, Anne. (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2004. Print), 211

⁷⁵ *Friction*. Tsing, Anne. (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2004. Print), 211

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⁷⁷ *Friction*. Tsing, Anne. (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2004. Print), 216

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⁸¹ *Friction*. Tsing, Anne. (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2004. Print), 247

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⁸³ Translation: The urgency of saying “us”

⁸⁴ Maisch, Gonzalo Portocarrero. *La Urgencia Por Decir "nosotros": Los Intelectuales Y La Idea De Nación En El Perú Republicano*. (Primera ed. Pontificia Universidad Catolica Del Perú, 2015), 15.

- “la propuesta de un nacionalismo criollo, de un proyecto de colectividad centrado en el olvido de la fragmentación étnica en el común empeño de imitar lo europeo y rechazar lo indígena”

⁸⁵ Maisch, Gonzalo Portocarrero. *La Urgencia Por Decir "nosotros": Los Intelectuales Y La Idea De Nación En El Perú Republicano*. (Primera ed. Pontificia Universidad Catolica Del Perú, 2015), 19

- “en el Perú, el racismo y el orden colonial continúan marcando la vida cotidiana pese a la legalidad republicana y la consagración formal del principio de igualdad de derechos”

⁸⁶ Maisch, Gonzalo Portocarrero. *La Urgencia Por Decir "nosotros": Los Intelectuales Y La Idea De Nación En El Perú Republicano*. (Primera ed. Pontificia Universidad Catolica Del Perú, 2015), 21

- “en una mezcla entre las tradiciones que compartimos...una vida colectiva inspirada en los ideales de la libertad, la igualdad y la fraternidad”

⁸⁷ Maisch, Gonzalo Portocarrero. *La Urgencia Por Decir "nosotros": Los Intelectuales Y La Idea De Nación En El Perú Republicano*. (Primera ed. Pontificia Universidad Catolica Del Perú, 2015), 325

⁸⁸ Maisch, Gonzalo Portocarrero. *La Urgencia Por Decir "nosotros": Los Intelectuales Y La Idea De Nación En El Perú Republicano*. (Primera ed. Pontificia Universidad Catolica Del Perú, 2015), 326 “esta narrative sigue marcando a la identidad criolla como estando a la defensive en un pais cuya complejidad no acaba de entender ni asumir”

⁸⁹ Maisch, Gonzalo Portocarrero. *La Urgencia Por Decir "nosotros": Los Intelectuales Y La Idea De Nación En El Perú Republicano*. (Primera ed. Pontificia Universidad Catolica Del Perú, 2015), 330 ;“memoria justa”

⁹⁰ Maisch, Gonzalo Portocarrero. *La Urgencia Por Decir "nosotros": Los Intelectuales Y La Idea De Nación En El Perú Republicano*. (Primera ed. Pontificia Universidad Catolica Del Perú, 2015), “una realidad fabulosa donde el pasado esta vivo” (345)

⁹¹ Maisch, Gonzalo Portocarrero. *La Urgencia Por Decir "nosotros": Los Intelectuales Y La Idea De Nación En El Perú Republicano*. (Primera ed. Pontificia Universidad Catolica Del Perú, 2015), “donde se conjugan ritmos...de muy distintas variantes, para formar un sonido potente y atractivo para peruanos y peruanas muy diferentes entre si” (334)

⁹² Maisch, Gonzalo Portocarrero. *La Urgencia Por Decir "nosotros": Los Intelectuales Y La Idea De Nación En El Perú Republicano*. (Primera ed. Pontificia Universidad Catolica Del Perú, 2015), 347, “a descubrir que lo más potente que tiene el Perú es aquello que él siempre ha menos apreciado”

⁹³ Mayer, Enrique. *Ugly Stories of the Peruvian Agrarian Reform*. (Durham: Duke University Press, 2009), 28

⁹⁴ According to the government-sponsored Truth and Reconciliation Commission, between 61,000 and 77,000 people died between 1980 and 2000 as a result of both terrorist organizations and state-sponsored paramilitary groups. *Comision de la Verdad y Reconciliacion: Reporte Oficial*. Lima, Peru. Comision de la Verdad y Reconciliacion.
<http://www.cverdad.org.pe/ifinal/pdf/Tomo%20-%20ANEXOS/ANEXO%202.pdf>

⁹⁵ I am choosing to reference Oscar Ugarteche by name, as his publications, interviews, and identity as a central protagonist in the movement would make it impractical to do otherwise. He provided verbal and written consent (via email) to be interviewed for this research project.

⁹⁶ Ugarteche directly descends from Manuel Ignacio Prado and Maria Magdalena Ugarteche, former President-then-Dictator and First Lady of Peru (respectively) at the turn of the 20th century.

⁹⁷ A Peruvian sociologist who deceased in 1990. He was related to the Miro Quesada family, which owns Peru’s main national newspaper *El Comercio*.

⁹⁸ Podesta, Cecilia. "30 Años Diciendo "Orgullosamente Gay"" *Diario16.pe*. October 24, 2012. Accessed December 17, 2015.
<http://diario16.pe/noticia/20014-30-aanos-diciendo-orgullosamente-gay>.

⁹⁹ “History of the New York Institute for the Humanities.” *New York University Archives*. 28 May 2012. <http://dlib.nyu.edu/findingaids/html/archives/nyih/bioghists.html>

¹⁰⁰ Document: Memoria Historica del MHOL, p. 2, author unknown (presumably current MHOL staffers)

¹⁰¹ Ugarteche, Oscar. *India Bonita, O, Del Amor Y Otras Artes: Ensayos De Cultura Gay En El Perú*. (Lima, Perú: MHOL, 1997), 48

¹⁰² Ugarteche Interview, 10 November 2015

¹⁰³ Document: Memoria Historica del MHOL, p. 2

- “A la base parece estar la competencia intelectual entre ellos y el destaque social muy a la limeña de pagna entre dos apellidos.”

¹⁰⁴ Document: Memoria Historica del MHOL, p. 3

- “Roberto procedía...de Chicago...Ambos eran de izquierda, pero OU era del PUM muy radical”

¹⁰⁵ Document: Memoria Historica del MHOL, p. 3

- “RMQ solicita a OU que lo contacte con...la izquierda Gay neoyorquina en New York. Simultáneamente OU a través de conversaciones personales con Foucault conoce su teoría sobre el arco iris de la sexualidad.”
- “conversaciones más sistemáticas...de 10 a 12 personas entre hombres y mujeres, tenían por finalidad reflexionar sobre el significado de ser gay o lesbiana en el Perú”

¹⁰⁶ Starn, Orin. “Interview with a Gay Activist.” In *The Peru Reader: History, Culture, Politics*. (Durham: Duke University Press, 1995), 502

¹⁰⁷ Ugarteche Interview, November 2015

¹⁰⁸ Ugarteche Interview, November 2015

¹⁰⁹ Starn, Orin. “Interview with a Gay Activist.” In *The Peru Reader: History, Culture, Politics*. (Durham: Duke University Press, 1995), 502

¹¹⁰ Starn, Orin. “Interview with a Gay Activist.” In *The Peru Reader: History, Culture, Politics*. (Durham: Duke University Press, 1995), 503

¹¹¹ Starn, Orin. “Interview with a Gay Activist.” In *The Peru Reader: History, Culture, Politics*. (Durham: Duke University Press, 1995), 503

¹¹² Ugarteche Interview, November 2015

¹¹² Ugarteche Interview, November 2015

¹¹² “Alberto Fujimori: Se cumplen 23 años del autogolpe del 5 de abril.” *RPP Noticias*. 5 May 2015. <http://rpp.pe/politica/actualidad/alberto-fujimori-se-cumplen-23-anos-del-autogolpe-del-5-de-abril-noticia-784516>

¹¹² “Editorial: Censura de Diplomáticos.” *El Comercio*. 31 December 1992. Retrieved from the Archivo Periodístico de la Biblioteca Nacional del Perú.

¹¹⁴ MHOL 1er. Manifiesto. Marzo 1983, Lima.

- “Para que los hombres y mujeres homosexuales del Perú adquieran una conciencia real de su situación y se agrupen en defensa de sus derechos ciudadanos.”

¹¹⁵ Document: Memoria Histórica del MHOL, p. 6

- “Yo me decía porque no se junta con otra tipo de gente [*sic*]. Cual puede ser el punto de encuentro? El voley. Porque el voley, por alguna razón en este país, ha sido un deporte donde han convergido muchos gay...conectaba los dos mundos. El mundo popular y el mundo de la clase media. El equivalente...a los comedores populares, eran los grupos de voley.”

¹¹⁶ Document: Memoria Histórica del MHOL, p. 6

- “se vuelve un espacio de socialización sino que cada vez...se vuelve un asunto de competencia...terminaba el partido de voley y los de San Martín regresaban a sus cantinas a chupar.”

¹¹⁷ Cueto, Marcos. *Culpa y coraje. Historia de las políticas sobre el VIH/Sida en el Perú*: (Lima: Consorcio de Investigación Económica y Social/Facultad de Salud Pública y Administración, Universidad Peruana Cayetano Heredia, 2001), 80-81

¹¹⁸ Document: Memoria Histórica del MHOL, p. 14

¹¹⁹ Document: Memoria Histórica del MHOL, p. 15

- “enviar un proyecto a Holanda, a Novib...En octubre de 1985 se recibe una carta que anuncia la aprobación del Proyecto y una carta de felicitación de John Schlanger...pues es la primera vez que una ONG Holandesa financia a un movimiento homosexual.”

¹²⁰ Ugarteche Interview, 10 November 2015

¹²³ Starn, Orin. “Interview with a Gay Activist.” In *The Peru Reader: History, Culture, Politics*. (Durham: Duke University Press, 1995), 504

¹²⁴ “El Dedo en la Llagá.” Ugarteche, Oscar. *Partido Comunista Peruano*, originally published in *Diario Uno*. 24 April 2015. <http://www.pcperuano.com/el-dedo-en-la-llaga/>

¹²⁵ Ugarteche Interview November 2015

¹²⁶ The activist wished to remain anonymous. She is still a living figure and does not want her comments to affect her relationships.

¹²⁷ Anonymous Interview May 2015

¹²⁸ Ugarteche Interview November 2015

¹²⁹ Starn, Orin. "Interview with a Gay Activist." In *The Peru Reader: History, Culture, Politics*. (Durham: Duke University Press, 1995), 505

¹³⁰ Anonymous Interview May 2015

¹³¹ "Movimientos LGBT: por que olvidan su historia?" *Revista Semana*. 3 June 2009.
<http://www.semana.com/Imprimir/320508>

¹³² *Por Una Sociedad Joven Inclusive: Compilacion De Trabajos Sobre Jovenes Trans, Lesbianas, Gays Y Bisexuales*. Secretaría Nacional de la Juventud & Achahuanco, René Galarreta: (SENAJU, 8 March 2013), 52:

- "Con lemas escritos en cartulinas se manifestaba nuestro descontento con la sociedad que no incluía a las personas con todos sus derechos."

¹³³ *Por Una Sociedad Joven Inclusive: Compilacion De Trabajos Sobre Jovenes Trans, Lesbianas, Gays Y Bisexuales*. Secretaría Nacional de la Juventud & Achahuanco, René Galarreta: (SENAJU, 8 March 2013), 45

¹³⁴ *Por Una Sociedad Joven Inclusive: Compilacion De Trabajos Sobre Jovenes Trans, Lesbianas, Gays Y Bisexuales*. Secretaría Nacional de la Juventud & Achahuanco, René Galarreta: (SENAJU, 8 March 2013), 56:

- "La primera vez fue en el Parque Kennedy y era una reunión con un estrado en el que ponían música, pero siempre veía que en otros países se realizaban marchas hacía muchos años y era algo que estábamos buscando organizar."

¹³⁵ Document: Memoria Historica del MHOL, p. 30

- "Al inicio el grupo era muy integrado, todos tomaban las decisiones democraticamente, por mayoría de votos, se discutía y analizaba minuciosamente hasta el final. Eramos parte de lo mismo, no teniamos institucion pero eramos nosotros. Ahora en cambio la decision la toma el ejecutivo del directivo."

¹³⁶ Document: Memoria Historica del MHOL, p. 30

- "Ahora todos quieren ser decentes. Hay otro momento cultural."

¹³⁷ *Caretas*. "De Costilla a Costilla." Gaston Agurto. Lima. 15 May 1997.

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- ¹³⁸ *Caretas*. “De Costilla a Costilla.” Gaston Agurto. Lima. 15 May 1997.
- ¹³⁹ *Caretas*. “El Orgullo de Ser Gay.” Teresina Muñoz-Nájar. (Lima. 22 June 2000), 49
- ¹⁴⁰ *Caretas*. “El Orgullo de Ser Gay.” Teresina Muñoz-Nájar. (Lima. 22 June 2000), 50
- ¹⁴¹ *Caretas*. “El Orgullo de Ser Gay.” Teresina Muñoz-Nájar. (Lima. 22 June 2000), 50
- ¹⁴³ “#YoMarcho: Así se vivió la marcha del Orgullo Gay en Lima.” *Peru 21*. 27 June 2015. <http://peru21.pe/actualidad/yomarcho-asi-se-vive-marcha-orgullo-gay-lima-fotos-y-videos-2221833>
- ¹⁴⁵ “Union Civil Ya! – Spot Promocional.” 27 March 2014. *El Directorio: Creatividad y Comunicación Sostenible*. <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=PKfdzaba0Fs>
- ¹⁴⁶ “Unión Civil: Hasta cuándo esperar?” 26 February 2015. *Unión Civil Ya!* <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=xMU4MOCPFKY>
- ¹⁴⁷ “Unión Civil: Hasta cuándo esperar?” 26 February 2015. *Unión Civil Ya!* <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=xMU4MOCPFKY>
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- ¹⁴⁹ “Union Civil Ya! – Spot Promocional.” 27 March 2014. *El Directorio: Creatividad y Comunicación Sostenible* <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=PKfdzaba0Fs>
- ¹⁵⁰ CC Interview. May 2015.
- ¹⁵¹ CC Interview. May 2015.
- ¹⁵² CC Interview. May 2015.
- ¹⁵³ Gio Infante Interview, May 2015.
- ¹⁵⁴ Gio Infante Interview, May 2015.
- ¹⁵⁵ Gio Infante Interview, May 2015.
- ¹⁵⁶ Excerpt from 3rd LGBT Summit of the Americas Brochure.
- ¹⁵⁷ Excerpt from personal recording of the 3rd LGBT Summit of the Americas, May 2015.
- ¹⁵⁸ Personal recording of the 3rd LGBT Summit of the Americas, May 2015.

¹⁵⁹ Personal recording of the 3rd LGBT Summit of the Americas, May 2015.

¹⁶⁰ Fieldnote, May 2015.

¹⁶¹ Fieldnote, May 2015.

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